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Abstract

The aim of this article is to meet the increasing need to develop the intercultural dimension of communicative competence through an authentic resource, in this case, picturebooks. An innovative pedagogical initiative was carried out with two primary-level classes (5th and 6th) in a bilingual school in central Madrid (Spain). The selected resource was the picturebook entitled *Fry Bread: A Native American Family Story*, about a present-day Native American family preparing a traditional post-colonial recipe. The resource was introduced through reading aloud as part of a project in which 44 students were asked to write a recipe in English for a dish that is special to them or their families, accompanying the text with an illustration. The contributions of students, which were compiled in a recipe book composed of 44 main courses and desserts, were analysed in accordance with the main topics of focus in the intervention, identifying who was the recipe-keeper in each family. It was determined that the most popular topic was family time, followed by tradition. In most cases, the mothers were the keepers of the recipes, and the illustrations reflected a highly collaborative family effort to prepare the dishes. To

conclude, the recipes were analysed from the perspective of Byram's (1997) Intercultural Communicative Competence model, revealing that the dimension of knowledge of self and other and discovery and interaction were the most prevalent in the recipe book. This suggests awareness-raising among children of the differences between countries and a willingness to familiarise themselves with other cultures.

Key words: reading aloud, picturebooks, ESL/EFL (English as a Second Language/English as a Foreign Language), Native American, interculturality, Project-Based Learning (PBL), Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC).

Resumen

El objetivo de este artículo es responder a la creciente necesidad de desarrollar la dimensión intercultural de la competencia comunicativa a través de un recurso auténtico, en este caso, los álbumes ilustrados. La experiencia pedagógica innovadora se llevó a cabo con dos clases de primaria (5º y 6º) en un colegio bilingüe del centro de Madrid. El recurso seleccionado fue el álbum ilustrado titulado *Fry Bread: A Native American Family Story* que presenta a una familia nativa americana actual que prepara una receta tradicional post-colonial. Este recurso se introdujo a través de la estructura de lectura en voz alta dentro de un proyecto en el que se pedía al alumnado que escribiera una receta en inglés acompañada de una ilustración que fuera especial para ellos o sus familias. Como resultado, ambas clases escribieron un recetario compuesto por platos principales y postres, 44 en total, que fueron analizados teniendo en cuenta los principales temas abordados en la intervención y quién era el guardián de las recetas en sus familias. Se determinó que el tema más popular era el tiempo en familia, seguido de la tradición. En la mayoría de los casos, las madres eran las guardianas de las recetas reflejando también una alta colaboración para preparar los platos con sus familiares mostrados en las ilustraciones. Para concluir, se analizaron las recetas desde la perspectiva del modelo de Competencia Comunicativa Intercultural de Byram (1997), lo cual reveló que la dimensión de conocimiento de uno mismo y del otro y descubrimiento e interacción eran las más prevalentes en el recetario. Esto implica que los niños y niñas toman conciencia de las diferencias entre países y están dispuestos a familiarizarse con otras culturas.

Palabras clave: lectura en voz alta, álbumes ilustrados, ILE (Inglés como Lengua Extranjera), nativos americanos, interculturalidad, aprendizaje basado en proyectos, competencia comunicativa intercultural.

1. Introduction

This article presents a pedagogical experience carried out at the primary-school level involving two 5th- and 6th-grade classes in a bilingual public school in Madrid, Spain. The objective of the experiment is to develop intercultural competence in a multicultural classroom and encourage students to instill democratic values citizens through the use of authentic resources. This paper reflects upon picturebooks as literary resources that foster interculturality in an ESL (English as a second language)/EFL (English as a foreign language) context. The selected resource is a picturebook entitled *Fry Bread: A Native American Family Story* (2019), which, as Dolan (2014) stated, "bridges the gap between geographically distant places and the lives of the children in the classroom" (3). As explained below through a detailed account of all classroom sessions and activities, the picturebook was introduced through the reading-aloud structure within a Project-Based Learning (PBL) approach under the heading "Recipe Book" as part of the project. This led to the final product, which consisted of writing a recipe for a dish with special meaning for students because it is consumed on special occasions or is part of their family's heritage, with all recipes compiled in a book entitled "Recipe Book". The expected outcomes of this initiative, in which students were prompted to create multicultural recipes inspired by the picturebook, are in line with the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 4 (Quality Education), whereby teachers foster global citizenship and value cultural diversity. To highlight students intercultural competence, the recipes were analysed from the perspective of Byram et al.'s (2002) Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) model composed of knowledge, skills and attitudes, and the descriptors of the Reference Framework of Competence for Democratic Culture (RFCDC) (2013), taking into consideration the students' cultural and linguistic background as well as the connection between these features and the selected recipes.

The first section of the article will discuss the benefits of using picturebooks to promote ESL/EFL learning and interculturality within the PBL methodology. Next, the number of participants in the experiment will be presented together with their familial-cultural background, with the purpose of bringing the reader closer to a multicultural classroom model. The following section offers a detailed, step-by-step explanation of the creative process, which followed the three phases of reading aloud (pre-, while, post-), after which we offer an analysis of the final "Recipe Book" based on six thematic blocks (1. *Family time*; 2. *Tradition*; 3. *Wish to carry on the tradition*; 4. *Identity*; 5. *Special occasions*; 6. *Any occasion*) based on the words used in the recipe book.

2. State of the Art

2.1. Picturebooks as a Form of Literature

According to Barbara Bader,

> A picturebook is text, illustrations, total design; an item of manufacture and a commercial product; a social, cultural, historical document; and foremost an experience for a child. As an art form it hinges on the interdependence of pictures and words, on the simultaneous display of two facing pages, and on the drama of the turning of the page. (1976: 1)

This resource is an item of manufacture designed to have between 24 and 48 pages which are composed of the front matter, the body of the book and the back matter. According to Genette, these peritextual features are the parts of the text that "surround it and extend it, precisely in order to present it" (1997: 1) and also to generate dynamism, magic and suspense. The front matter provides a brief description of the main topic of the book and the back matter contains a biography and a synopsis of the story and occasionally an image of the author and illustrator.

Picturebooks break with the traditional reading conventions because texts are short and illustrations are appealing. This requires an active and supportive reader to bring these elements together. This description highlights one of the features that have generated high interest, namely the bimodal link between text and image (Nodelman 1988; Nikolajeva and Scott 2006) which could be redundant, complementary or counterpoint (Bateman 2014). Generally, picturebook images complement the information provided in the narration, as in *Fry Bread: A Native American Family Story*. This form of literature has typically been used in the home for bedtime reading, allowing parents to engage in an entertaining and enjoyable experience. The gap between the text and the image leaves an interpretative space for the reader where they can construct meaning by linking literary works through intertextuality (Mendoza-Fillola 2001) or by means of a semiotic code such as "interpictoriality" (Hoster et al. 2018). What makes a picturebook different from a storybook lies in conceiving of it as "a unit, a totality that integrates all the designated parts in a sequence in which the relationship among them —the cover, endpapers, typography, pictures— are crucial to the understanding of the book" (Marantz 1977: 151). Therefore, the final result is a product of viewing the picturebook not just as a story to be told but as an object of discovery where all the images and the elements within the object contribute to the final result.

2.2. Picturebooks for EFL/ESL and Interculturality

This section presents the multiple benefits of picturebooks for teaching EFL/ESL and interculturality. Although there are various interpretations of the word,

here we understand interculturality in the manner provided by the UNESCO, which "refers to the existence and equitable interaction of diverse cultures and the possibility of generating shared cultural expressions through dialogue and mutual respect" (Article 4.8 of the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, UNESCO 2005). This definition not only reflects the multiculturalism present in today's classrooms but at the same time gives different cultures equal importance. In line with Byram et al.'s (2002) ICC, "the basis of intercultural competence is in the attitudes of the person interacting with people of another culture" (11-13). This implies that learners should be open and willing to learn from other cultures.

In many cases, the main challenge for teachers is to introduce different realities in the classroom, which makes picturebooks an optimal resource because they can act as a mirror in which students are reflected and also as a window through which they can see other cultural experiences (Wu 2017). Furthermore, as Boyd et al. (2014) stated, picturebooks, with their firm commitment to diversity, also encourage students to accept people who are different from them and are works of literature that are open to the imagination and require meaningful thoughts and a capacity for deep reflection (Encabo Fernández et al. 2012). According to Braid and Finch (2015), the debate and interaction that takes place while reading aloud will foster intercultural education, also allowing students to perceive cultural interactions and traditions in a positive way (Hancock 2016).

Picturebooks have been used as a rich and authentic source of meaningful input in the field of foreign language education for over four decades (Mourao 2023). High-quality picturebooks facilitate language acquisition by enhancing both linguistic and interpersonal proficiency. According to Ghosn (2013), humanising English teaching allows individuals to enhance their moral reasoning skills, emotional intelligence and empathy. In this same vein, Fleta-Guillén and García-Bermejo argue that "picturebooks not only help students to understand language and content, but also to develop positive attitudes toward the target language" (2014: 38). Furthermore, they expose language learners to a variety of cultures and afford opportunities for "combining critical literacy with intercultural learning, as an empowering process" (Bland 2013: 26). Despite the existence of well-developed theories describing the advantages of picturebooks for intercultural learning, empirical research is relatively scarce, especially with regard to modern foreign language learning in classroom settings.

In the following sections the pedagogical experience will be thoroughly explained (i.e., participants, methodology, sessions) to answer the following questions:

— To what extent did the picture book *Fry Bread: A Native American Family Story* help students abandon stereotypes toward Native Americans in a Spanish EFL context?

— To what extent does composing recipes in EFL classrooms contribute to raising students intercultural awareness?

2.3. Project-Based Learning for Intercultural Communicative Competence

As Thomas and Peterson (2014) state, PBL is an instructional approach that engages students in authentic, inquiry-based projects designed to address real-world problems or challenges. PBL is characterised by its emphasis on student autonomy, collaboration, inquiry and application of knowledge and skills to solve complex problems (Helle et al. 2006). Inquiry and investigation foster curiosity, promote self-directed learning and cultivate skills that extend far beyond the specific project at hand, as Blumenfeld et al. (1991) state.

It can be said that the main characteristics of this instructional approach meet the requirements to develop ICC. According to Kramsch (1993), ICC involves multiple components, including intercultural sensitivity, knowledge of cultural norms and practices, communication skills, empathy and adaptability. In today's globalised world, ICC is essential for meaningful communication, collaboration and cooperation across cultures in various personal, professional and academic contexts. Together with this, PBL promotes active learning, critical thinking, creativity and the development of 21st-century skills such as communication, collaboration and problem-solving.

PBL provides authentic contexts for students to engage in meaningful interactions with individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds (Helle et al. 2006). Projects often require collaboration with peers from different cultures, which exposes students to diverse perspectives and experiences, as in the pedagogical experience shown in this article. In addition, PBL promotes cultural awareness by encouraging students to explore and understand the cultural dimensions of the topics or issues they are investigating (Thomas and Peterson 2014). This process fosters an appreciation for cultural diversity and helps students recognise their own cultural biases and assumptions.

Moreover, PBL enhances students' communication skills by requiring them to transmit their ideas, perspectives and findings to diverse audiences (Byram 1997). Through collaboration and interaction with peers from different cultures, students develop cross-cultural communication competencies, including empathy, active listening and intercultural sensitivity. Furthermore, this methodology challenges students to solve complex problems or address real-world issues that may have cultural implications. By working collaboratively with peers from diverse cultural backgrounds, as reflected in the picturebook through the topic of identity, students learn to navigate cultural differences, negotiate meaning and develop innovative solutions that are sensitive to cultural contexts.

3. Method

3.1. Participants

The pedagogical experience was devised for a total of 44 primary-school participants in the 5th (n=21) and 6th grade (n=23) in a public bilingual school located in central Madrid. The general English level of the students ranges from A2-B1.

Regarding the origin of the students' families (see Table 1), in half of the families (50%) both parents are Spanish, which suggests a significant representation of local or native Spanish-speaking families. In nearly one-third of the families (27.3%), both parents originate from a country other than Spain, which highlights a substantial level of cultural diversity within the classroom. Moreover, nearly one-fifth of the families (18.2%) were composed of only one parent from a country outside Spain, which adds another layer of diversity, bringing in different cultural perspectives and backgrounds. In one of the two single-parent families in the class, one had a parent from Spain and the other single parent was from elsewhere.

	(n=44)	(%)
Both parents of Spanish origin	22	50
One parent from a country other than Spain	8	18.2
Both parents from a country other than Spain	12	27.3
Single-parent family in which the parent is from Spain	1	2.3
Single-parent family in which the parent is from a country other than Spain	1	2.3

Table 1. Students' family origins

As can be seen in Table 2, in 61.4% of the families both parents' mother tongue is Spanish, which suggests a prevalent linguistic similarity among a significant portion of the students' families. About one-fifth of the families (20.9%) have at least one parent with a mother tongue other than Spanish (i.e., Swedish, French, Korean, English, Arabic) and a smaller percentage of families (14%) have both parents with a mother tongue different from Spanish (Guaraní, Russian, Romanian, Quechua), indicating a subset of students with a potentially richer linguistic environment.

	(n=47)	(%)
Both parents' mother tongue is Spanish	27	61.4
One parent whose mother tongue is other than Spanish	9	20.5
Both parents' mother tongue is other than Spanish	6	13.6
Single-parent family in which the parent's mother tongue is Spanish	2	4.5

Table 2. Family's mother tongue

It can be concluded that while Spanish remains the dominant language among families, learners are exposed to different languages and cultures. This enhances their linguistic and cultural awareness, but also shows the need to foster the learners' intercultural competence.

3.2. Creative Process

The aim of this pedagogical experience was to promote democratic values in the students. Thus, we searched for an action-oriented approach (Piccardo and North 2019), promoting learning through realistic scenarios that lead up to a final collaborative task. We also sought to achieve a number of objectives established in the official curriculum for English in the third cycle of primary education, particularly those regarding reception, production, interaction and mediation in the English language as well as the development of the different Key Competences established in the LOMLOE (Ley Orgánica 3/2020, 2020) and the Key Competences for Lifelong Learning identified by the European Commission, Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture (2019). In order to achieve these goals the following methodologies (see Figure 1) were introduced in the classroom.

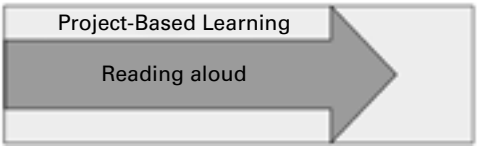

Figure 1. Methodologies used in the pedagogical experience

The transformative pedagogical approach of PBL was introduced through the driving question, "Can you write a recipe in English that is special to you and your family and share it with us?" This question aimed to encourage authenticity and real-world learning, one of the core tenets of PBL. Thus, the pedagogical experience intended to mirror a genuine challenge or problem present in the

world whose authenticity not only engaged students by tapping into their intrinsic motivation (Thomas 2000), but also ensured that the learning was applicable beyond the classroom walls. Inquiry and investigation —two other characteristics of PBL— were put into practice since students were encouraged to investigate a recipe that was special for their family. In addition, the families were involved in the process. Moreover, collaboration, or positive interdependence for the final product, was present, as the collective success of the group depended on the individual work of each student. Furthermore, students' autonomy and decision-making was fostered in this pedagogical experience as students could choose the recipe that they wanted to write, and they had to make their own decisions about their texts and illustrations. On top of this, the final product was a recipe book that could be shared with their families, teachers and peers, adding authenticity and accountability to the project.

Finally, the reading aloud technique (Ellis and Mourao 2021) was implemented through mediation, which consists of selecting the picturebook according to the students' level, age, needs and interests, accompanied by scaffolded activities and guidance through the various meanings that a multilayered picturebook may offer. One of the main challenges EFL/ESL teachers face is using language attached to a real and authentic context in a way that is engaging within a multicultural setting. In this regard, the picturebook *Fry Bread: A Native American Family Stor*y becomes an object of discovery due to its multilayered text, which leads to multiple interpretations from the narrator's and other characters' voices. Furthermore, from the reader's perspective, the story opens up necessary dialogue between two cultures that are so isolated from each other, the Western and the Native American. The readers also become active learners when they read about the 573 recognised tribes depicted in the endpapers, as well as traditional Seminole pottery, basketry and dolls.

Kevin Noble Maillard is the author of *Fry Bread: A Native American Family Stor*y. He belongs to the Mekusukey Seminole tribe, and by sharing 'fry bread', a post-colonial recipe, he seeks to promote unity among all nations. The universal topic of food and the call to readers to join in this feast with a racially diverse set of characters not only foster intercultural understanding, but also help the reader to challenge certain misconceptions, such as the belief that Native Americans have red skin, wear feathers or ride horses. Consequently, this is more than a book about food; it is a story of displacement, starvation and the struggle to survive, subtly alluding to the historical event of The Long Walk, when between 1863 and 1864 hundreds of Navajo were forced to march 400 miles from Arizona to eastern New Mexico and had to subsist entirely on rations of flour, salt and water, that is, the ingredients to prepare fry bread. Summing up, this picturebook

offers insights into other cultures that can be very beneficial to develop cognitive and attitudinal skills for real-life experiences. In the following table we can see the different stages of the reading aloud process.

Mediating a picturebook read-aloud		
Stage 1: Before	**Stage 2: During**	**Stage 3: After**
Selection and preparation	Use of expressive techniques: — Body, eyes and voice — Reading aloud — Read-aloud talk	Follow-up and reflection

Table 3. Picturebook reading aloud structure (Retrieved from Ellis and Mourao (2021))

3.3. Sessions

Certain that *Fry Bread* could be a good trigger for promoting interculturality in the classroom, a pedagogical intervention was designed, consisting of seven sessions that followed the reading aloud structure, as can be seen in Table 4. In the next section the activities carried out in each session will be explained thoroughly, as the stages of the learning process are of utmost importance to truly support intercultural competence.

Pre-reading aloud stage			
Session 1: What is fry bread?	Activity 1. See, think, wonder.	Activity 2. Where is this bread from?	Activity 3. Peritextual features.
Reading aloud stage			
Session 2: Close reading of Fry Bread.	Activity 1. Reading aloud Fry Bread.	Activity 2. Going deeper into Fry Bread.	Activity 3. Not this, but that.
Post-reading aloud stage			
Session 3: What makes this recipe so special?	Activity 1. Speaking circles.	Activity 2. Writing your reasons.	
Session 4: Recipe time!	Activity 1. Reading Kevin's Fry Bread recipe.	Activity 2. Specific content-based language teaching.	
Session 5: Can you write your own recipe?	Activity 1. Writing my recipe.	Activity 2. Typing up my recipe.	
Session 6: Talking through pictures.	Activity 1. Analysing the illustrations of Fry Bread.	Activity 2. If I were the illustrator…	Activity 3: Let's draw!
Session 7: Composing our hymn.	Activity 1: Final reading aloud of Fry Bread.	Activity 2: Rewriting Fry Bread.	Activity 3. Reading the new poem together.

Table 4. Reading aloud sessions during the pedagogical experience

3.3.1. *Pre-reading Aloud Stage*

At this point, the main aim was to spark students' interest in the picturebook as well as to support ICC by bringing the Native American culture to a European context. As an ice-breaker activity, the teacher showed the students the front page of the book and asked questions to help draw their focus to the title and the illustration. They wrote a list of what they could see, what they thought of the illustration on the front page, and what they would like to know about the book. This routine encouraged students to make careful observations and thoughtful interpretations and stimulated their curiosity, setting the stage for inquiry.

During the second activity, and in order to deepen their understanding of cultural similarities and differences around the world, they were prompted to predict where bread came from, guessing its name and origin. For example, pita bread is from Syria or Greece, pretzels are from Germany, etc.

To conclude the pre-reading stage, the teacher showed students other peritextual elements of the picturebook, such as the title page, the front and back covers, the dedication page, the endpapers and awards. In this fashion, the picturebook was presented as an aesthetic object, highlighting the importance of the illustrations. Here are some examples of questions to be posed:

- "What do you think they are eating?"
- "Do you think these characters know each other?"
- "Why is the chosen food bread?"
- "What do you think fry bread symbolises?"
- "Can you think of important moments in your life where bread is present?"
- "What is the medal on the front cover?"
- "The book is dedicated to J.M.-N. and to K.N.M., who do you think they are?"

3.3.2. *Reading Aloud Stage*

During the reading aloud stage, the teacher-narrator helped students to engage more actively with the story through the use of rhythm, intonation, volume, body language, gestures, etc. and by asking questions that helped the listeners to fill the information gaps between the images and the text. This was accompanied by some questions that helped students to understand the deeper layers of the story and to develop into active and critical readers, such as

- "What do you think the mother is doing in this image?"
- "How do you think the characters are feeling in this image?"
- "Why are all the children looking at the grandmother telling a story?"

In order to focus on words and their meaning, the following activity ("Not this, but that") consisted of retelling the story, but changing some words which students had to identify. For example, the teacher said, "Fry bread is food. Flour, salt, *coke*, …" The students had to stop the teacher and say: "Not coke, but water".

3.3.3. *Post-reading Aloud Stage*

To begin with the post-reading aloud stage, the students were required to bring a recipe that was special and meaningful for them or their family. During the first activity, the students had to form two big concentric circles so that each student had another student facing them. Then, the teacher projected a question on the interactive whiteboard, and students were encouraged to share their answers. Later, the teacher asked them to move clockwise and repeat this exchange of experiences with a different pair and a different question. This activity helped them to connect with the deep meaning of the recipe for their family and to learn about recipes from other cultural backgrounds, fostering intercultural exchanges. These were some of the proposed questions:

- "Which recipe did you choose?"
- "Who taught you this recipe?"
- "Who usually cooks it at home?"
- "Why is that person special to you?"
- "Where does this recipe come from?"
- "How is your family related to that place?"
- "When do you usually eat this dish?"
- "Why is this recipe so important for your family?"

The students were each expected to share their recipe, which is something personal, authentic and intimate and something to be proud of. These speaking circles created the necessary space for children to get to know themselves better, to interpret and compare their culture and traditions to those of others, to exhibit curiosity and openness and value the attitudes and beliefs of others, elements that Byram (2008) identifies as necessary for the development of intercultural competence. After sharing their ideas with their peers orally, the students had the opportunity to write them down on paper, which were later used for the final project. Some examples of this writing exercise appear in the results section below.

During the 4th and 5th sessions, the students wrote their special recipe. To model this task, the teacher used the example of the fry bread recipe that the author, Kevin Noble Maillard, shares in the author's notes of the picturebook, where the author explains that it is actually a recipe passed down from his aunt Maggie. This

provided a real, contextualised recipe that helped students to learn about text formats, parts of a recipe (ingredients, instructions), verb tenses, specific vocabulary, quantities and the like. The students had previously received scaffolded instruction on key words related to cooking (i.e., verbs, kitchen utensils, the most commonly used ingredients) through images. At the same time, they were given a recipe template that was divided into sections for ingredients and steps and were taught how to explain the different steps using connectors.

Subsequently, each student had the chance to write down the special recipe that was typical of their family. At this moment, the teacher's role was to provide one-to-one support to students when required. To finish this phase, the students had to type out their recipe, explaining why it was special for them, and upload it to a digital platform (Teams). The pedagogical aim behind this task was to foster digital competence through the use of learning technologies in a confident, critical and responsible way.

To promote the use of English and enhance the students' creativity, during the 6th session the teacher proposed that students create an illustration to accompany each recipe. Before starting to think about their illustrations, the teacher helped them analyse the illustrations of *Fry Bread* by Juana Martínez Neal, pointing out aspects such as the colours used, the use of different sizes, the expression of each character and the perspective chosen for some of the illustrations (Serafini and Reid 2022).

To lead the students to a decision-making process, the teacher asked them to imagine the illustration they wanted to accompany their recipe, recalling that the picturebook is also a piece of art. To help them with this process, the teacher asked them to close their eyes and answer these questions in their minds:

- "Who appears in your illustration?"
- "What is the setting of your illustration?"
- "What details do you want to show in the illustration?"
- "What colours will you use?"
- "Which perspective do you want to choose: long shot, full shot, medium shot or close-up?"

In the last part of this session, the students were provided with different materials to use in their illustrations. This created a beautiful atmosphere of concentration and work, and the results showed a deeper understanding of the picturebook and what the students wanted to transmit with their illustration.

In the last session, the students were asked to rewrite the poem entitled *Fry Bread* with the purpose of summarising the story and also celebrating the product created, the recipe book. For this activity, the students formed pairs. Each pair was inspired by one of the 12 headings that compose the picturebook. Then, they

had to invent four new verses. At the end of the session, we put all the verses of the poem together and the students read the new poem aloud, transforming it into a hymn as seen in the Appendix.

4. Results

4.1. Data Analysis Procedure

The data collection process began by gathering information about students' family origins and their corresponding native languages. The second step consisted of collecting anonymised student recipes, which were coded as initial S followed by the number of the recipe as it appeared in the book.

Firstly, the association of two variables was studied: the students' multicultural background and the origin of their recipes. The percentage of students who chose a recipe related to their cultural background was calculated. Then, we calculated the percentage of students with a multicultural background who had selected a recipe associated with their family's origin. In addition, we determined the percentage of different relatives who acted as keepers of the recipe, the people who cooked this recipe in the family and passed it down through generations.

The recipes were analysed thematically, and the most recurring themes were as follows: 1) *Family time*, 2) *Tradition*, 3) *Wish to carry on the tradition*, 4) *Identity*, 5) *Special occasions* and 6) *Any occasion*. This analysis was based on the words and expressions that appeared in the recipe book, as seen in Table 5.

Topics in the recipes	Codes
1. Family time	Spending time together, good memories, all together, at home together, everyone has their part, expressions of love toward their relatives.
2. Tradition	Passed from, remember, passed it on to me, continue, generation to generation, heritage, connection to their roots.
3. Wish to carry on the tradition	Would like for them to learn the recipe, would show it to them when they are born.
4. Identity	Same country as my dad, belongs to that country, related to my family, comes from my family's place of birth, from here, sense of pride and connection to the cultural and culinary aspects of their home country and their love for it.
5. Special occasions	Birthday, Holy Week, Christmas, Thanksgiving.
6. Any occasion	Not on any special occasion, any moment, on any day, once a week, once every two weeks.

Table 5. Most common topics when analysing the recipes

Lastly, the recipes were analysed following Byram's ICC model and the descriptors of democratic citizenship appearing in the Reference Framework of Competence of the Council of Europe (Council of Europe 2013).

4.2. Recipe Book Analysis

This section analyses the connection between the selected recipes and the students' multicultural background. Simultaneously, the topics that make those recipes so special will be examined as well as the role of the keeper of the recipes within their families, as inspired by the author Kevin Noble Maillard, who was "the fry bread lady" in his family. The most frequently mentioned topic was *Family time* followed by *Tradition* and *Identity*.

A substantial majority of students (70.5%) indicated that the source of the recipe was related to the origin of their family, as compared with 29.5% whose recipe is not related to their family background On the one hand, this high percentage reinforces the idea that there is a strong connection between cultural identity and the food they choose. It suggests that students are consciously or unconsciously drawing on their cultural backgrounds when engaging with the topic of food. On the other hand, the percentage of students who chose a recipe not related to their cultural background confirms the presence of intercultural competence in the classroom, since for a significant minority, other factors such as personal preferences or positive experiences with other countries and cultures play a more prominent role in their choice of recipes.

In addition, 85.7% of students with a multicultural background presented recipes from the countries associated with their family's background whereas a small subgroup of students with a multicultural background (14.3%) did not show recipes from the countries associated with their family's background. The substantial majority of students with a multicultural background sharing recipes from their family's countries indicates a positive alignment between the student's cultural heritage and the content of their recipes. This outcome supports the idea that the pedagogical intervention might have encouraged students to express and share aspects of their multicultural background through their choice of recipe. It can be highlighted that a minority of students with diverse cultural backgrounds also chose to include recipes that are part of the Spanish culinary tradition.

Another important area to be analysed concerns the reasons the students gave when explaining why their recipe was special to them (Figure 2).

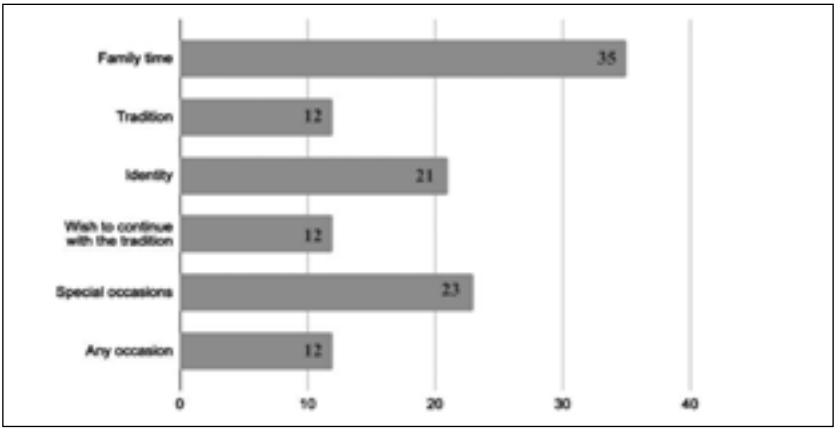

Figure 2. Most commonly mentioned topics in the recipe book

The most frequently mentioned topic is *Family time*. It was mentioned by 35 out of 44 of the students (79.54%). This suggests that *Family time* is a central theme, encompassing various aspects of connection, union and shared experiences, as in *Fry Bread*.

Statements referring to the topic *Family Time*
1. "It is a way to spend time with my father" (Arepas by S1).
2. "I have good memories with this recipe as we spend our weekend enjoying the dish together" (Mixed rice by S4).
3. "But what really matters are not the days that we eat it. The important part is the time in family" (Pasta Bolognesa by S6).
4. "I have good memories cooking this dish and eating it by the sea. It is delicious!" (Migas by S10).
5. "This recipe is very special for me and my family, because it takes us all together around one big table to prepare it, and everyone has their part to do from grandparents to grandchildren, and we cook and talk and laugh, and then we eat all together" (Pelmeni by S16).
6. "We usually bake it on weekends because on weekends we are all at home together" (Lemon cake by S36).

Table 6. Statements referring to the topic Family Time in the recipe book

The next most notable theme is *Tradition*. Statements related to the topic of tradition were written in 12 of the 44 recipes (27.27%). In addition, the *Wish to carry on with the tradition* was expressed the same number of times (27.27%). This theme reflects a strong sense of cultural continuity and the importance of preserving family traditions.

Statements referring to the topic of *Tradition*
1. "I love this recipe because it has passed from generations to my family. This recipe reminds me of my grandparents" (Cookies by S42).
2. "My grandmother passed away, but I still can remember the pancakes" (Chocolate pancakes by S38).
3. "The reason is that my grandmother taught my mother and my mother passed it to me and I want to continue the tradition" (Chocolate kisses by S32).
4. "My dad taught me this recipe because it goes from generation to generation" (Buñuelos by S28).
5. "It comes from my great grandmother and my great grandmother is special for me, because she is very old and she is still living" (Turkey stew by S27).

Table 7. Statements referring to the topic of Tradition in the recipe book

Some students specifically expressed a desire to continue the culinary traditions of their family and preserve the cultural heritage associated with their recipes.

Statements referring to the topic *Wish to carry on the tradition*
1. "I would like to explain this recipe to my kids but not only that, I will also explain that it is a very important recipe for me and that it comes from our origin in Argentina" (Argentinian corn pie by S2).
2. "If in the future I have kids, I would like for them to learn this recipe. I would explain that it is important to us because we really liked Greece" (Greek salad by S13).
3. "If I had children, I would show it to them the first day they were born" (Crepes by S33).

Table 8. Statements referring to the topic *Wish to carry on the tradition* in the recipe book

Hereafter, the next most mentioned topic is the connection between the recipe and *Special occasions* including family trips, celebrations (Christmas, New Year's, Thanksgiving, Holy Week, birthdays) because they are associated with memorable moments they spend with their beloved ones. This category was mentioned by 23 of the 44 students (52.27%).

Statements referring to the topic *Special occasions*
1. "I usually cook this recipe at home for my birthday" (Three milk cake by S43).
2. "My family prepares it every Holy Week in Dominican Republic" (Sweet bean by S24).
3. "As I'm Jewish, I have to say that the turkey is not the most important thing of this day (Thanksgiving), but a distraction" (Thanksgiving Turkey by S25).
4. "I eat it on Christmas night" (Seasoned carrots by S21).

Table 9. Statements referring to the topic *Special occasions* in the recipe book

Twenty-one students (47.72%) reflected upon their own identity as they mentioned their love for their home country as a significant factor that makes their recipes special. Though less frequently mentioned, some students specifically highlighted the regional aspect of their recipes, connecting them to specific regions within Spain, where their grandparents used to live. All these ideas have been labeled under *Identity*.

Statements referring to the topic *Identity*
1. "My recipe comes from the same country as my dad: Venezuela. It connects me to my Venezuelan roots" (Arepas by S1).
2. "My mother is from a different country called South Korea and this dish belongs to that country. I get to enjoy authentic South Korean dishes at home" (Mixed rice by S4).
3. "Because when my family cooks it, we remember Morocco. This recipe is from Morocco. My father is from Morocco and I usually visit this place with my family" (Cous cous by S5).
4. "I have many good memories of this recipe related to my country, Ecuador, where I grew up" (Salchipapa by S7).
5. "This recipe comes from my family's place of birth: Extremadura" (Migas by S9).
6. "This recipe is special because it is my favorite food. This omelet is from here, from Spain" (Tortilla de patata by S22).

Table 10. Statements referring to the topic *Identity* in the recipe book

A smaller but still notable theme is the idea that the recipe is special for *Any occasion* (6). This suggests a versatility in the significance of the recipes, making them suitable for various events and not tied to specific moments.

The diversity of topics mentioned by students indicates a rich tapestry of experiences and feelings associated with the chosen recipes, highlighting the multifaceted nature of the students' connections to their recipes. These themes align well with our pedagogical objectives of fostering intercultural competence and showcasing the diverse cultural backgrounds of the students.

To conclude, this section refers to a topic which the picturebook author Kevin Noble Maillard mentions at the end of *Fry Bread*, the one of the keepers of the recipe. These findings are summarised in Figure 3.

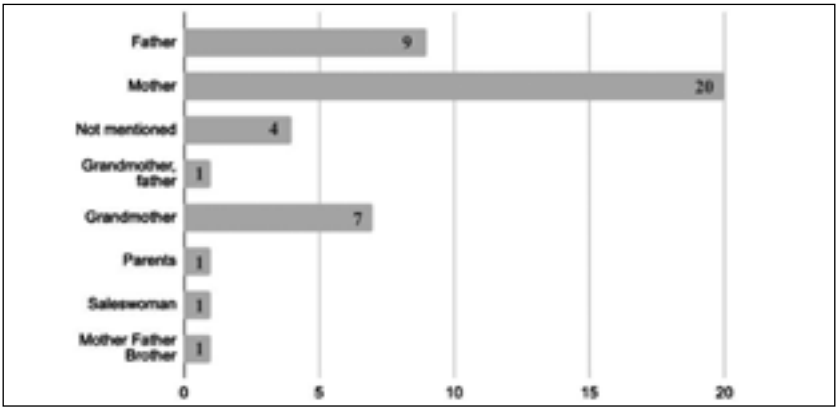

Figure 3. Who is the keeper of the recipes?

The data reflect a variety of family dynamics regarding the keepers of the recipes. Mothers (45.5%) play a central role in preserving and passing down culinary traditions within the family. Also, a notable percentage of students (20.5%) mentioned that their fathers are the keepers of the recipe, which challenges traditional gender roles in cooking and highlights the involvement of fathers in the culinary aspects of family traditions. A considerable portion of students (15.9%) mentioned their grandmothers as the keepers of the recipe (see Figure 2), indicating the importance of the older generation in preserving family culinary traditions. Some students (6.8%) noted that many relatives are involved in keeping the recipe. This could suggest a collaborative effort or shared responsibility within extended family networks. Nearly one-tenth of the students (9.1%) made no reference to the keeper of the recipe. Finally, one student wrote about a saleswoman in a creperie as the person who taught the recipe to him. This fact exemplifies the idea that people from the neighborhood also enrich our collective imagination.

4.3. Recipe Analysis from the Perspective of ICC

Through this section we will analyse to what extent creating recipes in English has contributed to raising students' intercultural awareness, following Byram's ICC model and focusing on the dimensions of knowledge (knowledge of self and other), intercultural attitudes (exhibiting curiosity and openness) and discovery and interaction (exploring cultures). We will also use the descriptors of the Reference Framework of Competences for Democratic Culture, based on the four dimensions of values, attitudes, skills and knowledge and critical understanding, following the Council of Europe (2013), which states that "teaching and learning practices and activities should follow and promote democratic and human rights values and principles". Through the creation of recipes, students became aware of the multiple facets of their own culture, which allowed them to understand and acknowledge the depth of others (Byram 2008).

Knowledge of self and the other and discovery and interaction are exemplified by being aware of the difference between the countries and not being born or raised in that culture and the willingness to explore other cultures. The following statements are taken from the recipe book in English.

Knowledge of self and others and Discovery and Interaction (Statements)
1. "This recipe comes from Greece. My family isn't related to Greece" (S13).
2. "My recipe comes from the same country as my dad: Venezuela" (S1).
3. "This recipe is from Argentina and I am from Argentina" (S2).
4. "It is very important for the country because we love meat" (S20).
5. "This recipe is special because of my mother. She is from a different country called South Korea and this dish belongs to that country" (S4).
6. "This recipe is from Morocco. My father is from Morocco" (S5).
7. "I have many good memories of this recipe related to my country, Ecuador, where I grew up" (S7).
8. "Because it is very special in my country and my family prepares it every Holy Week in the Dominican Republic" (S24).
9. "As I am Jewish, I have to say that the turkey is not the most important thing of this day, but a distraction" (S25).
10. "This recipe comes from Romania because my family is from there" (S15).
11. "This recipe is special for me because it reminds me of my home country (Argentina)" (S20).
12. "We are related to this place because we love Italian food" (S26).

Table 11. Statements related to knowledge of self and others and discovery and interaction from the recipe book

The dimension of attitude is reflected through the openness and curiosity toward other cultures and also the willingness to transmit this knowledge to the coming generations.

Attitude (statements)
1. "If I have a kid I will share a recipe with them because to Romanian people and my family this recipe is very important as a tradition" (S15).
2. "My family isn't related to Greece. I would like to learn this recipe" (S13).
3. "This dish is also wonderful because you celebrate this day with other people, with different religions and nationalities" (S25).

Table 12. Statements regarding attitude in the recipe book

The illustrations that accompany the recipe also display certain cultural elements such as a Christmas tree (Figure 4) and a view of the great mosque of Casablanca (Figure 5). Taking into account that the main topic is food, some traditional ingredients that are less commonplace in Spain appear in some illustrations, including sesame oil for the recipe for bibimbap (Figure 6) or Greek yogurt to prepare tzatziki. Most illustrations display a traditional Western table with typical cutlery (spoon, fork and knife) although most tables are rounded, likely influenced by the illustrations that appear in the picturebook.

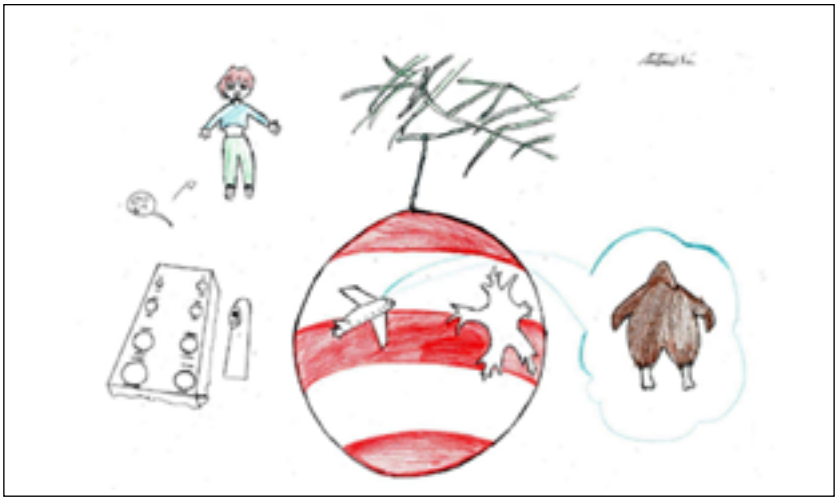

Figure 4. Student's illustration of roast chicken

Figure 5. Student's illustration of couscous

Figure 6. Student's illustration of bibimbap

During this particular pedagogical experience, the teachers had a high impact on students' motivation by promoting self-confidence, openness to discussions and critical thinking to help learners become more active citizens. This is also interpreted through the 166 validated descriptors involving children below the age of ten from the Reference Framework of Competences for Democratic Culture (Council of Europe 2013), as mentioned above. In the dimension of attitude, understood as openness to cultural otherness and other beliefs, worldviews and practices, number 21 reflects the interest in learning about people's beliefs, values, traditions and worldviews through discovery and interaction. The first step was to deconstruct stereotypes toward Native Americans through the picturebook and the recipes become the object of discovery that raises students' interest toward other cultures (Korean, Romanian, Russian, Ecuadoran, etc.) The dimension of attitude through civic mindedness is clearly reflected in descriptor 33 through the expression of willingness to volunteer to help people in the community. This can be seen when the children are very proud of having these origins and really want to teach the future generations these recipes, to preserve the tradition. Being active citizens is represented in descriptor 34 when the students participated in decision-making processes regarding the affairs, concerns and common good of the community (in most cases helping their mothers or grandmothers to prepare the recipe). To conclude, in the dimension regarding knowledge and critical understanding, and more specifically about how they understand the world, descriptor 159 refers to the ability to describe basic cultural practices, in this case eating habits in one culture. This is clearly reflected in the fact that it is the central topic of the project.

5. Conclusions

During the intervention described here, students approached the Native American culture through an authentic and current resource that allowed them to identify with them and dispel stereotypes about these minorities. In creating recipes, students were able to develop intercultural competence, specifically the knowledge dimension, exemplified by the awareness of the differences between countries, as well as discovering and interacting with other cultures. The multicultural reality of the classroom is implicitly reflected in the recipes, since one-third of the families come from countries other than Spain (Romania, Peru, Greece, USA, Morocco, Dominican Republic, Argentina). In turn, some of the illustrations accompanying the recipes refer to cultural elements such as a mosque or the Thanksgiving feast or to unusual ingredients in Spain such as sesame oil. The attitudinal dimension has also been represented through openness and curiosity toward other cultures and the importance of passing on this tradition to future generations, as the theme of tradition and the desire to pass traditions on is the second most recurring theme after time spent with family. As in the picture book, women are central figures as the caretakers of the recipes within the same family, as reflected in the recipe book, where 45.5% of mothers are in charge of preserving the tradition.

According to the Reference Framework of Competencies for Democracy (Council of Europe 2013), the students reflected an interest in other ways of thinking, values, traditions and worldviews by taking an interest in the recipes made by their peers. In some testimonies transcribed in the recipe analysis section, we can see how the students are proud of their origins and feel responsible for transmitting customs to the coming generations, as in the picture book. In turn, the need to make decisions during the process, such as which recipe to choose in the first place, as well as explaining why it is special to them, fosters student agency, requiring them to seek the common good for the community, in this case helping their mothers or grandmothers to prepare the recipe.

With respect to limitations, since the Native American culture depicted in the storybook is so far removed from our own, it was essential to read the author's notes to learn more about the customs, food and history of the indigenous peoples, as well as to interpret some of the symbols that appear in the illustrations. In addition, it was the first time the students had written a recipe, making it necessary to teach them the format, structures and vocabulary of the genre. The students required teacher guidance in this process as well as for transcribing the recipe in electronic format.

In general, it can be concluded that the selection of a quality picturebook accompanied by guided and scaffolded activities guarantees more experiential

and deeper learning that at the same time may turn the student into an agent of change for society by being more aware of a multicultural world and showing a greater openness to other realities different from their own, while improving their linguistic competence.

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Appendix

THESE RECIPES ARE FOOD
Because they are delicious
Because they have nutrients
Because they have different ingredients
Because you can eat them

THESE RECIPES ARE SHAPE
Because they have many different shapes
They can be circles, squares, triangles
They can be flat, soft or large

THESE RECIPES ARE SOUND
The sound of the sugar
slowly falling in a bowl.
The sound of the flour
quickly mixing.

THESE RECIPES ARE COLOR
Red, yellow, green, blue and many other colors.
They have different colors and that's fun
Because you are more excited
and enjoy more this experience.

THESE RECIPES ARE FLAVOR
Because they are made of ingredients.
There are a lot of types of flavors
in these recipes:
salty, sweet, sour, hot, …

THESE RECIPES ARE TIME
Because when you prepare them,
you are with your family.
Because they come from the past
and they will be in the future.

THESE RECIPES ARE ART
Art is passion
Passion is fun
When you have fun, you have everything
inside and outside.

THESE RECIPES ARE HISTORY
They come from the past
They have stories inside
They are and they will be memories
They are our history

THESE RECIPES ARE PLACE
In the kitchen of my house.
In my grandma's house
In my aunt's restaurant
In a shop

THESE RECIPES ARE NATION
Because they are made in different nations
They transport us to those nations
Because is Peru, is Spain, Paraguay, Ecuador,
Korea, Venezuela, Extremadura, ...

THESE RECIPES ARE EVERYTHING
The recipes feed you and make you have
a lot of fun with your family and friends.
These special moments are beautiful
when you think about them.

THESE RECIPES ARE US

THESE RECIPES ARE FORYOU

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COMPOSITIONAL ARGUMENT SELECTION IN N+V QUALIA PAIRS WITHIN THE DISCOURSE OF COOKING: A CORPUS-BASED STUDY

SELECCIÓN ARGUMENTAL COMPOSICIONAL EN PARES DE QUALIA N+V EN EL DISCURSO DE LA COCINA: UN ESTUDIO BASADO EN CORPUS

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Abstract

This paper aims to analyse the compositional argument selection process represented by different syntactic alternations within the specialised domain of cooking, thus contributing to the characterisation of this specialised discourse. The syntactic alternations studied include canonical actives, passives, causative/inchoative alternations, middles and Instrument-subject alternations. These constructions allow the incorporation of cooking verbs (Levin 1993) and denote divergent argument structure realisations. As indicated here through compositional analysis, the constructions contain distinctive N+V qualia pairs. As in Pustejovsky (1991, 1995), this paper follows a lexico-semantic approach and applies a corpus-based methodology to examine and compare over 8,300 contextualised examples from two corpora (a specialised corpus on cooking and a general corpus) using the Sketch Engine corpus tool. The results show that the syntactic alternations examined follow related but distinctive underlying patterns in semantic composition, and thus are construed with N+V qualia pairs that characterise the specialised discourse of cooking.

Keywords: argument selection, compositional analysis, syntactic alternations, discourse of cooking, qualia pairs.

Resumen

El objetivo de este trabajo es analizar el proceso de selección argumental composicional representado por diferentes alternancias sintácticas en el ámbito especializado de la cocina y, de este modo, contribuir a la caracterización de este discurso especializado. Las alternancias sintácticas objeto de estudio son las activas canónicas, las pasivas, las alternancias causativo/incoativo, las medias, y las alternancias de sujeto instrumento. Estas construcciones permiten la incorporación de verbos de cocinar (Levin 1993) y denotan realizaciones divergentes de la estructura argumental y, en consecuencia, como se atestigua aquí, contienen pares de qualia N+V distintivos en el análisis composicional. En línea con Pustejovsky (1991, 1995), este trabajo sigue un enfoque léxico-semántico y una metodología basada en corpus para analizar y comparar 8300+ ejemplos contextualizados de dos corpus (un corpus especializado de cocina y un corpus genérico) mediante el uso del software Sketch Engine. Los resultados muestran que las alternancias sintácticas examinadas siguen patrones subyacentes relacionados pero distintivos en la composición semántica y, por lo tanto, se interpretan con pares de qualia N+V que caracterizan el discurso especializado de cocina.

Palabras clave: selección argumental, análisis composicional, alternancias sintácticas, discurso de la cocina, pares de qualia.

1. Introduction

The language of cooking has been widely explored from a linguistic perspective (e.g. Lévi-Strauss 1966; Lehrer 1969, 1972; Newman 1975; Bator 2014). This paper contributes to the characterisation of this specialised domain by contrasting data from two corpora: a specialised corpus of cooking and a general corpus of English. Particularly, it focuses on the usage of N+V configurations and the most productive syntactic patterns typically found in this specialised domain, contrasting these patterns with those from the general corpus.

Scholars like Casademont (2014) and Durán and L'Homme (2020: 37) consider verbs as 'conveyances of knowledge' that help characterise specialised discourse because they specify information about argument structure in their corresponding cultural domains. Unlike purely verb- or noun-centred approaches to compositionality (Sager 1990; Hale and Keyser 2002), this study follows Pustejovsky's (1991, 1995) ideas, thus advocating a lexico-semantic approach that spreads the semantic load across all the constituents of the utterance. Nouns and verbs are both considered specialised units of language in specific domains and as such contribute to the syntactic and lexico-semantic characterisation of a specialised discourse.

This study identifies typically-occurring N+V combinations in the discourse of cooking as qualia pairs, that is, as linguistic elements that are paired depending on the information predicated by a given verb about the meaning of a particular noun. This linguistic connection, in fact, is triggered by our basic knowledge about the nominal entity in question and our conceptualisation of it in terms of its more inherent features, known as qualia roles (Pustejovsky 1991, 1995). A N+V qualia pair is "a combination in which the predicate expresses one of the qualia values of the noun (like *picture-paint, book-read,* or *house-build*)" (Pustejovsky and Jezek 2016: 13). The qualia relational structure thus involves those lexico-semantic, syntactic and conceptual constraints that are "based on the idea that there is a system of relations that characterises the semantics of nominals" and "serves to specify the reading of a verb" (Yoshimura 1998: 115).

The hypothesis of this study is that there exists a correlation between the most productive N+V qualia pairs and the most typically-occurring syntactic structures in a given specialised domain, in contrast to those (qualia pairs and syntactic structures) found in a general corpus. Therefore, there should be a correspondence between the lexico-semantic and the syntactic features that characterise the specialised discourse of cooking. For example, if corpus data confirms the N+V qualia pair *chef_cook* as significantly productive, then it would follow that a syntactic canonical transitive structure with an agentive subject and a patientive object could be frequently found in this specialised discourse, thus revealing a given pattern of qualia structure that specifies the meaning of the noun in relation to the semantics of the verb.

This paper is organised as follows. Section 2 presents the analytical tools used (namely, syntactic alternations with cooking verbs and notions of qualia and co-specification phenomena). Section 3 describes the methodology employed. Section 4 presents the main findings and a discussion of the results. Finally, Section 5 offers some closing remarks.

2. Tools for Analysis

In this paper I examine the interaction between the lexico-semantic and syntactic features that characterise the discourse of cooking. I analyse the frequency of occurrence of different grammatical patterns and the most productive N+V qualia pairs. To do so, Subsection 2.1 explores the different syntactic alternations that appear with cooking verbs, and Subsection 2.2 examines the main principles of qualia structure and co-specification phenomena.

2.1. Syntactic Alternations with Cooking Verbs

Placing a particular nominal entity in subject position is anything but random, since doing so requires a process of lexico-semantic and discourse-pragmatic profiling. As stated in Palma Gutiérrez, "profiling is related to the specific portrayal of the foregrounded domain of a given linguistic expression as the focus of attention in discourse" (2024: 139). Depending on the profiling/defocusing phenomena involved in each case, distinct portions of the action chain and argument structure realisations are represented. This leads to the configuration of different syntactic patterns where diverse energetic interactions occur among the participants, that is, Agent, Patient and Instrument (Langacker 2013).

According to Levin's (1993) typology, cooking verbs are classified by the distinct methods or techniques of cooking they describe, such as baking, frying or boiling. Their prominence and frequent use in the specialised discourse of cooking reflects the centrality of these actions to this domain (cf. Levin 1993: 244). Following Levin's classification, these verbs participate in the syntactic patterns illustrated in Examples 1-5:[1]

(1) *Jennifer baked the potatoes (with her new oven).*

(2) *The potatoes were baked (by the chef).*

(3) *The potatoes baked.*

(4) *Idaho potatoes bake beautifully.*

(5) *This oven bakes potatoes well.* (Adapted from Levin 1993: 243-244)

The basic/canonical active form in Example 1 follows the SVO syntactic pattern: it contains a +Animate agentive subject (*Jennifer*) which is profiled syntactically and a -Animate patientive object (*the potatoes*), which is defocused. It also contains an oblique Instrument. Therefore, the flow of energy within the canonical action chain follows the sequence Agent-Patient(-Instrument). Traditionally, the transitive active clause is considered the most basic/unmarked syntactic pattern. As found in corpus studies by Givón, the assumption of the higher productivity of transitive actives "is associated, among other things, with the predication that the unmarked member of a binary distinction […] is more frequent in text" (1993: 52). Additionally, as Stockwell claims, "a prototypical subject acts as both topic and agent, and alternative clause-patterns represent a deviation away from this norm" (2002: 35). Accordingly, syntactic patterns with a different argument structure alignment, such as those illustrated in Examples 2-5, are considered syntactic alternations to the canonical pattern, as detailed below.

The passive construction in Example 2 portrays the same situation as the canonical pattern, but with the order of arguments reversed. It profiles a ±Animate Patient

(*the potatoes*), and, when specified, the Agent occupies a defocused oblique object position, introduced by a *by*-phrase (*the chef*). The causative/inchoative alternation in Example 3 occurs with verbs of change of state/position to describe an eventive situation (Levin 1993: 30). It follows the SV syntactic pattern since it only profiles a -Animate patientive subject (*the potatoes*) and no Agent is coded. The middle alternation in Example 4 follows the SVA syntactic pattern: it only profiles a -Animate patientive subject (*Idaho potatoes*). It describes a potential/facilitative (not an eventive) situation emphasised by the adverbial *beautifully* (26). Both causatives/inchoatives and middles are intransitive counterparts of the basic/canonical active form. In turn, the Instrument-subject alternation in Example 5 is a transitive structure that follows the SVO syntactic pattern. However, it profiles the oblique participant *this oven* (with an instrumental, not agentive, role) and a patientive argument in object position (*potatoes*) (80). Here, the Instrument can be understood as a metonymic extension of the Agent, paraphrased by the sequence Agent-Patient-Instrument in *Jennifer baked the potatoes with her new oven*.

Following Pustejovsky's ideas, patientive participants are classified by their belonging to a natural or an artifactual kind (2001: 8; 2006: 54). The former are described as naturally-occurring entities (e.g. *water*), whereas the latter are described as artifacts, that is, objects created for a particular purpose (e.g. *sandwich*). Contrary to artifactual objects, naturally-occurring entities lack an agentive value and denote nominals that have not been created out of any intentional behaviour.

Table 1 summarises the features of the syntactic alternations examined in this paper regarding the syntactic and semantic arrangement of their argument structures:

	Canonical actives	**Passive alternations**	**Causative/ inchoative alternations**	**Middle alternations**	**Instrument-subject alternations**
Grammatical roles at the syntactic level	Subject and Object	Subject (and Oblique Object)	Subject	Subject	Subject and Object
Subject's semantic role (Profiled entity)	Agent	Patient	Patient	Patient	Instrument
Object's semantic role (Defocused entity)	Patient	Agent	X	X	Patient
±Animate subject	+Animate	±Animate	-Animate	-Animate	-Animate

Table 1. Syntactic and semantic features of the alternations under examination

2.2. Qualia Structure and the Process of Co-specification

The theory of qualia structure (Pustejovsky 1991, 1995) establishes a mechanism to represent lexical meaning based on a system of four dimensions of meaning, called qualia, whose main function is to "capture different properties of objects, as they are represented in language" (Pustejovsky and Jezek 2016: 3).

A single quale indicates a particular aspect of a word's meaning through the relationship between the concept expressed by the word and another concept evoked by it. Qualia roles rely on the conceptual relations that a word may activate. The four basic qualia roles are as follows:

- Formal qualia (Qf) encode taxonomic information about a lexical item (*type-of* relations), and they answer these questions: 'What type of thing is this?' and 'What is its nature?'
- Constitutive qualia (Qc) focus on partonomic information about the constituent parts/material of an object (*part-of/made-of* relations), and they address these questions: 'What are its constituent parts?' and 'What is it made of?'
- Telic qualia (Qt) capture information about the purpose/function of an entity (*used-for/functions-as* relations), and they answer these questions: 'What is its purpose?' and 'How does it function?'
- Agentive qualia (Qa) refer to information about the origin of an object (*created-by* relations), and they address these questions: 'How did it come into being?' and 'What brought it about?'

Figure 1 illustrates the qualia structure of the lexical item *house* in terms of its qualia roles:

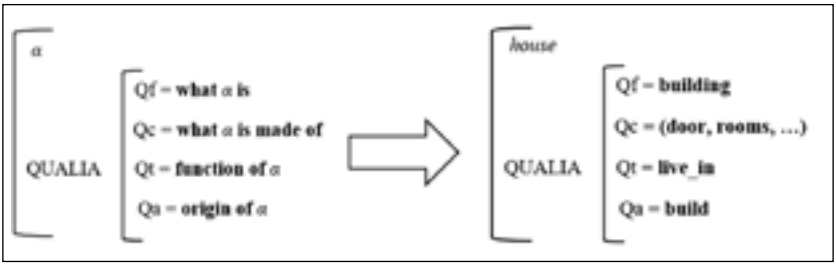

Figure 1. Representation of the qualia structure of the lexical item *house* (adapted from Pustejovsky and Jezek 2016: 8-9)

Even though this view of lexical meaning is basically decompositional,[2] this model also examines compositionality, that is, "how a word meaning may or may

not compose with other meanings, and how it changes in the different contexts" (Pustejovsky and Jezek 2016: 5). Consider the contextual modulation of word meaning in Examples 6a-6d below, paying special attention to how different qualia roles are activated in the contexts provided:

(6) a. *They have a three-story house.*

b. *Never forget to lock your house when you leave.*

c. *My cousin lives in a comfortable house.*

d. *It took four years to finish the house.*

In 6a the lexical item *house* refers to a type of physical object, a building, thus relying on a Qf relation between *house* and *three-story*. In 6b, the term *house* metonymically evokes its most salient part (*the door lock*) in a Qc relation with the predicate *lock*. In 6c the most salient feature of the house that is conceptually activated in this context is its inhabitability and *comfortability*, that is, its function (Qt). Finally, the conceptual relation between *house* and *finish* in 6d profiles a Qa relation based on its process of creation/construction. Therefore, the meaning of a lexical item adapts to the semantics of the elements surrounding it in a particular context, thus profiling or activating the most salient features (qualia roles) evoked in each case.

From this notion of contextual modulation of word meaning, it follows that different elements in a grammatical construction can be paired in discourse in accordance with their qualia structure to specify their meaning. In this study, I concentrate on the relationship between nouns and verbs forming qualia pairs in the specialised discourse of cooking.[3] As proposed in Pustejovsky and Jezek, an N+V qualia pair is a combination in which the verb promotes one of the qualia values of the noun, as in *book-read* or *house-build* (2016: 13). This phenomenon is known as co-specification. The results of this paper also show that metonymic embedding can occur when certain qualia values are subsumed within others in compositional analysis.

3. Data and Method

In this paper I conduct a corpus-based study of 8,385 instances to examine and contrast the lexico-semantic and syntactic properties of four cooking verbs and their syntactic alternations in a specialised corpus of cooking and a general corpus (henceforth, SC and GC, respectively). I compiled 892 examples from the SC and 7,493 from the GC. Particularly, I examine those syntactic alternations that involve productive N+V combinations in the domain of cooking.

The data collection process and subsequent analysis was divided into different phases. First, I used the Web search function of the Sketch Engine corpus tool (Kilgarriff et al. 2004) to compile the SC using texts from the internet (e.g. food blogs, cooking recipes, restaurant reviews). The resulting corpus contains 760,630 words. The GC used to contrast the data with the SC was the English Web 2021 (enTenTen21) corpus, the largest English-language corpus available on the platform (over 52 billion words).

The second step was to extract the most salient N+V qualia pairs in both corpora. To do so, I used the Word Sketch function of Sketch Engine, which provides a list of the most frequent collocates for a given target word in specific grammatical relations. In this case, the target words were the four selected verbs (i.e. *cook, bake, boil, fry*). I chose these four verbs for two reasons. First, as proposed by Levin, these verbs "describe the basic methods of cooking", and thus "are the ones that show the widest range of properties" among their class (1993: 244). The second reason was that these verbs proved to be highly frequent in the SC, as demonstrated by the results displayed in the Wordlist function of Sketch Engine. The Wordlist tool automatically generates frequency lists for the words in a corpus. When a filter was applied to the SC, 2,241 items were found. In terms of their frequency of occurrence, *cook* occupies the fourth position (3,273 occurrences), *bake* the ninth (2,243 occurrences), *fry* the twentieth (1,165 occurrences) and *boil* the twenty-third (1,100 occurrences).

I then manually coded the most frequent N+V collocates. Word Sketch collocates are classified in terms of their association score with the target word[4] and sorted into categories depending on their grammatical relations. I analysed the collocates in terms of the following two syntactic relations: 'Words that serve as Subject of the verb' and 'Words that serve as Object of the verb'. I selected the ten most frequent collocates in each syntactic category in both corpora. As Sketch Engine does not have the capacity to automatically filter out lexical/morphological mismatches, these were discarded manually, removing the non-valid instances that contained adjectives lemmatised as verbs (e.g. *baking* in *baking soda*) and nominalised forms of verbs (e.g. *fries* in *French fries*).

Later, I sorted the Word Sketch results for both corpora by searching for those nominals that co-occurred with the four cooking verbs and performed any of the following semantic roles:

- Agents: [+Animate] entities relying on the value *human*
- Patients: [-Animate] entities associated with the value *food*
- Instruments: [-Animate] entities related to the value *tool*

Once the N+V combinations were retrieved, the contextualised instances in both

corpora were then analysed and sorted according to their syntactic alternations. In the case of the GC, I analysed the first 100 examples from each N+V combination.

4. Results and Discussion

In this section, I discuss the main results of the corpus analysis. Firstly, I present the most salient N+V combinations from both corpora, distinguishing the semantic role of the nominal entities in each case. After this, I examine the modulation of word meaning in some N+V qualia pairs and their co-specified values at the lexico-semantic level. Finally, I explore the qualia patterns in compositional argument selection phenomena that were most syntactically productive in both corpora.

Table 2 shows the Word Sketch instances that were selected and thus identified as the most frequent N+V qualia pairs in both corpora. To compare these results, the pairs are ordered in terms of the raw frequency of occurrence of the nominal entities with each verb (Nº) and their normalised frequency in number of hits per million tokens (Freq).[5] The semantic roles of the nominal entities (whether Agent (A), Patient (P) or Instrument (I)) and the total number of occurrences (in both subject and object positions) in both corpora are also provided:

VERB *COOK*							
Specialised corpus (SC)				**General corpus (GC)**			
Subject position		**Object position**		**Subject position**		**Object position**	
Entity$_{(Role)}$	Nº/(Freq)	Entity$_{(Role)}$	Nº/(Freq)	Entity$_{(Role)}$	Nº/(Freq)	Entity$_{(Role)}$	Nº/(Freq)
potato$_{(P)}$	6/(6.68)	*chicken*$_{(P)}$	98/(128)	*chef*$_{(A)}$	4,132/(0.07)	*food*$_{(P)}$	78,933/(1.28)
rice$_{(P)}$	6/(6.68)	*potato*$_{(P)}$	66/(89.05)	*chicken*$_{(P)}$	768/(0.01)	*meal*$_{(P)}$	65,691/(1.07)
egg$_{(P)}$	6/(6.68)	*fish*$_{(P)}$	48/(58.99)	*pasta*$_{(P)}$	757/(0.01)	*meat*$_{(P)}$	26,132/(0.42)
chicken$_{(P)}$	5/(5.57)	*egg*$_{(P)}$	45/(53.44)	*meat*$_{(P)}$	751/(0.01)	*dinner*$_{(P)}$	25,159/(0.41)
fish$_{(P)}$	3/(3.45)	*rice*$_{(P)}$	40/(52.71)	*rice*$_{(P)}$	734/(0.01)	*rice*$_{(P)}$	24,245/(0.39)
--	--	*pasta*$_{(P)}$	35/(51.77)	*potato*$_{(P)}$	654/(0.01)	*dish*$_{(P)}$	21,247/(0.34)
--	--	*food*$_{(P)}$	25/(34.51)	*oven*$_{(I)}$	537/(0.01)	*chicken*$_{(P)}$	19,254/(0.31)
--	--	*corn*$_{(P)}$	23/(28.94)	*bean*$_{(P)}$	457/(0.01)	*breakfast*$_{(P)}$	13,998/(0.23)
--	--	*onion*$_{(P)}$	21/(25.62)	*onion*$_{(P)}$	415/(0.01)	*vegetable*$_{(P)}$	12,525/(0.2)
--	--	*noodles*$_{(P)}$	18/(20.04)	*steak*$_{(P)}$	374/(0.01)	*pasta*$_{(P)}$	9,741/(0.16)
Total nº	**26**	**Total nº**	**419**	**Total nº**	**9,579**	**Total nº**	**296,925**
TOTAL Nº: 445				**TOTAL Nº: 306,504**			

VERB *BAKE*							
Specialised corpus (SC)				**General corpus (GC)**			
Subject position		**Object position**		**Subject position**		**Object position**	
Entity$_{(Role)}$	Nº/(Freq)	Entity$_{(Role)}$	Nº/(Freq)	Entity$_{(Role)}$	Nº/(Freq)	Entity$_{(Role)}$	Nº/(Freq)
oven$_{(I)}$	6/(6.68)	*pie*$_{(P)}$	11/(12.24)	*bread*$_{(P)}$	5,696/(0.09)	*bread*$_{(P)}$	41,596/(0.68)
--	--	*pastry*$_{(P)}$	8/(8.9)	*oven*$_{(I)}$	2,788/(0.05)	*dish*$_{(P)}$	32,684/(0.53)
--	--	*fish*$_{(P)}$	8/(8.9)	*cookie*$_{(P)}$	2,567/(0.04)	*cake*$_{(P)}$	31,169/(0.51)
--	--	*tart*$_{(P)}$	7/(7.79)	*cake*$_{(P)}$	2,437/(0.04)	*potato*$_{(P)}$	26,902/(0.44)
--	--	*cake*$_{(P)}$	7/(7.79)	*pie*$_{(P)}$	1,410/(0.02)	*cookie*$_{(P)}$	22,328/(0.36)
--	--	*bun*$_{(P)}$	6/(6.68)	*cupcake*$_{(P)}$	467/(0.01)	*bean*$_{(P)}$	20,099/(0.33)
--	--	*cookie*$_{(P)}$	6/(6.68)	*pizza*$_{(P)}$	430/(0.01)	*pan*$_{(I*)}$	18,387/(0.3)
--	--	*loaf*$_{(P)}$	6/(6.68)	*baker*$_{(A)}$	418/(0.01)	*pie*$_{(P)}$	10,299/(0.17)
--	--	*chicken*$_{(P)}$	4/(4.45)	*pastry*$_{(P)}$	411/(0.01)	*apple*$_{(P)}$	5,040/(0.08)
--	--	*biscuit*$_{(P)}$	3/(3.45)	*muffin*$_{(P)}$	322/(0.01)	*chicken*$_{(P)}$	4,373/(0.07)
Total nº	**6**	**Total nº**	**66**	**Total nº**	**16,946**	**Total nº**	**212,877**
TOTAL Nº: 72				**TOTAL Nº: 229,823**			

VERB *BOIL*							
Specialised corpus (SC)				**General corpus (GC)**			
Subject position		**Object position**		**Subject position**		**Object position**	
Entity$_{(Role)}$	Nº/(Freq)	Entity$_{(Role)}$	Nº/(Freq)	Entity$_{(Role)}$	Nº/(Freq)	Entity$_{(Role)}$	Nº/(Freq)
water$_{(P)}$	16/(17.81)	*potato*$_{(P)}$	29/(31.3)	*pot*$_{(I)}$	2,692/(0.04)	*water*$_{(P)}$	101,495/(1.65)
mixture$_{(P)}$	6/(6.68)	*corn*$_{(P)}$	21/(23.62)	*kettle*$_{(I)}$	1,628/(0.03)	*egg*$_{(P)}$	26,026/(0.42)
--	--	*mixture*$_{(P)}$	20/(22.26)	*water*$_{(P)}$	633/(0.01)	*potato*$_{(P)}$	10,461/(0.17)
--	--	*turkey*$_{(P)}$	16/(17.81)	*mixture*$_{(P)}$	612/(0.01)	*rice*$_{(P)}$	4,823/(0.08)
--	--	*cookie*$_{(P)}$	12/(13.36)	*liquid*$_{(P)}$	519/(0.01)	*milk*$_{(P)}$	3,117/(0.05)
--	--	*ham*$_{(P)}$	9/(10.7)	*soup*$_{(P)}$	95/(0)	*pot*$_{(I*)}$	2,977/(0.05)
--	--	*kettle*$_{(I*)}$	8/(8.9)	*wort*$_{(P)}$	95/(0)	*kettle*$_{(I*)}$	2,797/(0.05)
--	--	*chicken*$_{(P)}$	6/(6.68)	*pasta*$_{(P)}$	87/(0)	*peanut*$_{(P)}$	1,776/(0.03)
--	--	*wing*$_{(P)}$	6/(6.68)	*cook*$_{(A)}$	82/(0)	*pasta*$_{(P)}$	1,613/(0.03)
--	--	*pierogi*$_{(P)}$	4/(4.45)	*potato*$_{(P)}$	65/(0)	*noodle*$_{(P)}$	1,390/(0.02)
Total nº	**22**	**Total nº**	**131**	**Total nº**	**924**	**Total nº**	**156,475**
TOTAL Nº: 153				**TOTAL Nº: 157,399**			

VERB *FRY*							
Specialised corpus (SC)				**General corpus (GC)**			
Subject position		**Object position**		**Subject position**		**Object position**	
$Entity_{(Role)}$	N^o/(Freq)	$Entity_{(Role)}$	N^o/(Freq)	$Entity_{(Role)}$	N^o/(Freq)	$Entity_{(Role)}$	N^o/(Freq)
--	--	*onion*$_{(P)}$	113/(125.7)	*egg*$_{(P)}$	246/(0)	*egg*$_{(P)}$	4,872/(0.08)
--	--	*shallot*$_{(P)}$	18/(20.04)	*bacon*$_{(P)}$	161/(0)	*chicken*$_{(P)}$	3,815/(0.06)
--	--	*chicken*$_{(P)}$	17/(18.92)	*onion*$_{(P)}$	114/(0)	*onion*$_{(P)}$	2,869/(0.05)
--	--	*egg*$_{(P)}$	16/(17.81)	*garlic*$_{(P)}$	76/(0)	*bacon*$_{(P)}$	1,986/(0.03)
--	--	*mushroom*$_{(P)}$	12/(13.36)	*cook*$_{(A)}$	74/(0)	*potato*$_{(P)}$	1,782/(0.03)
--	--	*gnocchi*$_{(P)}$	11/(12.24)	*turkey*$_{(P)}$	72/(0)	*rice*$_{(P)}$	1,150/(0.02)
--	--	*potato*$_{(P)}$	11/(12.24)	*sausage*$_{(P)}$	35/(0)	*turkey*$_{(P)}$	897/(0.01)
--	--	*garlic*$_{(P)}$	10/(11.13)	*chicken*$_{(P)}$	33/(0)	*tortilla*$_{(P)}$	620/(0.01)
--	--	*bacon*$_{(P)}$	8/(8.9)	*burger*$_{(P)}$	19/(0)	*noodles*$_{(P)}$	620/(0.01)
--	--	*pancetta*$_{(P)}$	6/(6.68)	*tofu*$_{(P)}$	14/(0)	*tofu*$_{(P)}$	457/(0.01)
Total nº	**0**	**Total nº**	**222**	**Total nº**	**623**	**Total nº**	**19,068**
TOTAL Nº: 153				**TOTAL Nº: 19,691**			

Table 2. Frequency of the most salient N+V qualia pairs in both corpora

Table 2 illustrates the N+V combinations and lexico-semantic features that characterise each corpus. With the verb *cook*, the most frequent semantic roles in subject position are the Patient *potato* (in the SC) and the Agent *chef* (in the GC). Additionally, both corpora reveal the saliency of Patients in object position (*chicken* and *food*, respectively). The two corpora differ in that the verb *cook* only occurs with Patients (in both subject and object positions) in the SC, whereas in the GC, other semantic roles are found in subject position (*chef* as Agent and *oven* as Instrument).

In the case of *bake*, the most salient semantic roles in subject position are the instrumental participant *oven* (in the SC) and the patientive entity *bread* (in the GC). No other nominal entities in subject position were found in the SC with the verb *bake*, whereas in the GC, three different semantic roles were found in subject position: Patient (*bread*), Instrument (*oven*) and Agent (*baker*). In both corpora, all the participants have a patientive nature in object position, with the exception of *pan* in the GC, working as Instrument and conveying a metonymic value. To illustrate this, consider Example 7 from the GC:

(7) *Bake each pan 10-12 min.*

Here, the term *pan* stands for the ingredients inside it, meaning 'bake the ingredients *with* the pan'. The conceptual metonymy underlying this process is CONTAINER FOR CONTENT.

Regarding *boil*, the most salient co-occurring semantic roles in subject position refer to the Patient *water* (in the SC) and the Instrument *pot* (in the GC). Once again, the GC presents the three different semantic roles found in subject position: Instrument (*pot* and *kettle*), Patient (*water*) and Agent (*cook*). In the SC, the most frequently co-occurring entities with *boil* have a patientive nature, either in subject or object position. The only exception is *kettle* in object position (see Example 8 taken from the SC), which follows the same process as *pan* in Example 7:

(8) *Boil the kettle.*

Here, the term *kettle* stands for the water inside it, meaning 'boil the water *with* the kettle'. The conceptual metonymy underlying this process is CONTAINER FOR CONTENT as well.

In the case of *fry*, no statistically relevant nominal entities in subject position were found in the SC, whereas two different semantic roles (Patient and Agent) occurred in the GC, as illustrated by *egg* and *cook*, respectively. All the entities found in both subject and object position in both corpora with *fry* have a patientive nature (with the exception of *cook* in subject position in the SC).

The lack of nominal entities and variety of semantic roles in subject position observed throughout the SC is due to the pervasive use of instructional imperatives, where no agentive subject is syntactically coded, though semantically recoverable as *you*. Consider the following instance in Example 9 taken from the SC in this regard:

(9) *Fry the onions.*

Recipe texts commonly contain imperative structures that guide users in the cooking process. The SC contains a higher concentration of this type of patterns as compared with the GC. As detailed below in this section, the most productive structure in both corpora is the basic/canonical pattern. The main difference is that the GC tends to portray the whole action chain, including salient Agent and Patient entities (in declarative patterns), whereas the SC focuses on patientive participants (within imperative forms).

Below I discuss the corpus results by examining the subject-verb qualia pairs in N+V combinations where we find the different semantic roles of the nominal entity (Agent, Patient and Instrument). Figure 2 shows the qualia structure representation of four lexical items and highlights the co-specified qualia values of these nominal entities in subject position in combination with cooking verbs.

The four lexical items and their semantic roles are *chef* (as an Agent), *bread* (as Patient of the artifactual kind), *kettle* (as Instrument) and *water* (as Patient of the natural kind).

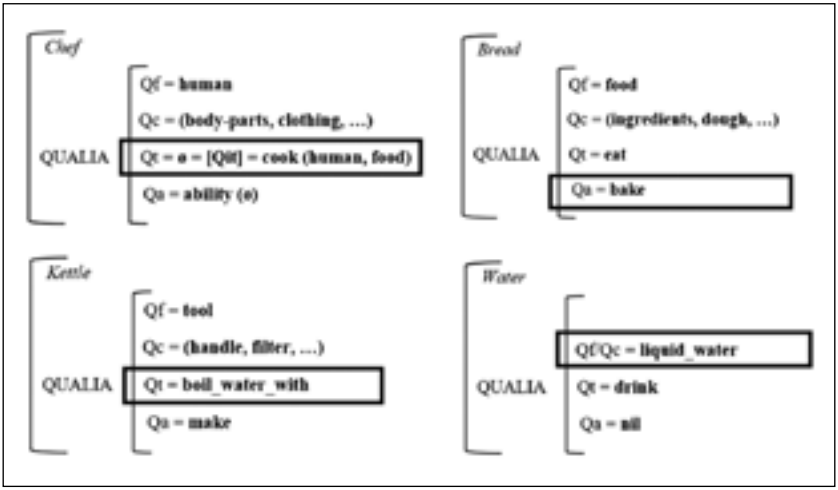

Figure 2. Qualia structure representation of nouns with different semantic roles + cooking verbs

As illustrated in Figure 2, when these four nominal entities co-occur with cooking verbs, they profile different qualia values depending on their semantic roles (Agent, Patient and Instrument when in subject position) and the most conceptually salient information they provide. The list below captures the main principles of argument selection of these lexical items to form N+V qualia pairs in the specialised discourse of cooking:

- Agentive participants (like *chef*) + cooking verb (like *cook*) = [Qt = ø = Qit]
- Artifactual patientive participants (like *bread*) + cooking verb (like *bake*) = [Qa]
- Naturally-occurring patientive participants (like *water*) + cooking verb (like *boil*) = [Qf/Qc][6]
- Instrumental participants (like *kettle*) + cooking verb (like *boil*) = [Qt]

In the case of agentive and instrumental participants with cooking verbs, different types of telic values are denoted, as represented by *chef* and *kettle* in Figure 2 above. The former refers to the 'indirect telic' (Qit) and the latter refers to the 'direct telic' (Qt) value. According to Pustejovsky and Jezek (2016: 30), the (Qt)

characterises the entity as something used to perform a particular activity (as in *kettle_boil*), whereas the (Qit) characterises the entity as something that has the function of carrying out the action denoted (as in *chef_cook*).

Therefore, as stated in Pustejovsky and Jezek (2016: 29), even though the (Qt) is mostly associated with instrumental objects (as in *kettle_boil*), a telic value is also present in nouns that denote concepts such as professions (as in *chef_cook*), agentive nominals (like *runner_run*) and functional locations (such as *school_learn*).

As illustrated in Figure 2, *chef* denotes a person (Qf) having the ability (Qa) to cook (Qit). Correspondingly, in the case of *kettle*, this nominal denotes a tool (Qf) used to boil water (Qt). Hence, in N+V qualia pairs where the nominal entity is an Agent, the cooking verb co-specifies the (Qit) of its argument (either in subject or object position). Similarly, in those N+V qualia pairs where the nominal entity is an Instrument, the cooking verb co-specifies the (Qt) of its argument, either in subject or (oblique) object position.

The other N+V qualia pairs retrieved from the corpus analysis that also denote the (Qit) relation between the Agent and a cooking verb are *baker_bake*, *cook_boil* and *cook_fry*. These combinations only appear in the GC, since no salient Agents were identified in the SC. However, a (Qt) relation is found in the following N+V qualia pairs, where the nominal performs the semantic role of Instrument: *oven_bake* (in both corpora), and *oven_cook*, *oven_fry*, *utensil_cook* and *pan_bake* (only in the GC).

Regarding artifactual and naturally-occurring patientive participants with cooking verbs, we observe different patientive entities (natural and artifactual kinds) participating in cooking events, thus denoting divergent N+V qualia pairs. This is represented by the lexical items *bread* and *water*, respectively, in Figure 2 above. Whereas artifactual Patient-oriented entities profile a (Qa) value, naturally-occurring Patients rely on a (Qf/Qc) relation, as detailed below.

The patientive entity *bread* belongs to the artifactual kind since it has been created intentionally through a baking event. In the field of cooking, artifactual Patient-oriented entities denote specific types of food (Qf) that are meant to be eaten (Qt) following a process of creation (Qa). Therefore, in N+V qualia pairs where the nominal entity is an artifactual Patient, the cooking verb co-specifies the (Qa) of its argument (either in subject or object position). The other most productive N+V qualia pairs retrieved from the corpora analysis that also denote artifactual patientive entities co-specifying a (Qa) value are *potato_cook* (in the SC) and *cake_bake* and *egg_fry* (in the GC).

Finally, the patientive participant *water* is a naturally-occurring entity. As represented in Figure 2, the default value of (nil Qa) of this type of entities captures "the primacy of a natural origin" (Pustejovsky and Jezek 2016: 34), since they have not been created through any activity or intentional behaviour. The only patientive entity of a natural kind found in the corpus is *water*, profiling a (Qf/Qc) relation with the predicate *boil*. Thus, *water* denotes a type of liquid that can boil due to its internal composition (Qf subsuming Qc); it is meant to be drunk (Qt); and its origin possesses a naturally-occurring nature (nil Qa). Therefore, in N+V qualia pairs where the nominal entity is a naturally-occurring Patient, the cooking verb co-specifies the (Qf/Qc) values of its argument (either in subject or object position).

So far, I have analysed modulation of word meaning in N+V qualia pairs and their co-specified values at a lexico-semantic level, paying special attention to salient lexical items in the discourse of cooking and focusing on the semantic roles of these nominal entities with regard to a set of cooking verbs. Let us now further explore the qualia patterns in compositional argument selection phenomena at the syntactic level. Examples 10, 11 and 17 were retrieved from the GC, whereas Examples 12-16 were taken from the SC:

(10) *The chef had never cooked vegan food before.*

(11) *The cook boiled the water for sterilizing.*

(12) *The fish fillets cooked through after 10min.*

(13) *The water boiled after 3-4min.*

(14) *Baked potatoes cook in about half the usual time in an air fryer.*

(15) *Water boils rapidly.*

(16) *This oven baked the salmon recipe perfectly.*

(17) *The oven cooks quickly and evenly.*

Examples 10 and 11 represent canonical active transitives, whereas Examples 12-15 represent intransitive alternations classified as follows: 12 and 13 are instances of the causative/inchoative alternation, respectively incorporating an artifactual and a naturally-occurring entity as Patients in subject position (*fish fillets* and *water*). Examples 14 and 15 represent middles, which also incorporate an artifactual and a naturally-occurring entity as Patients in subject position (*baked potatoes* and *water*). Finally, Examples 16 and 17 represent, respectively, the transitive and intransitive counterparts of the Instrument-subject alternation (with *oven*).

Examples 10-17 are represented in Figure 3 to profile their qualia patterns in compositional analysis at the syntactic level.

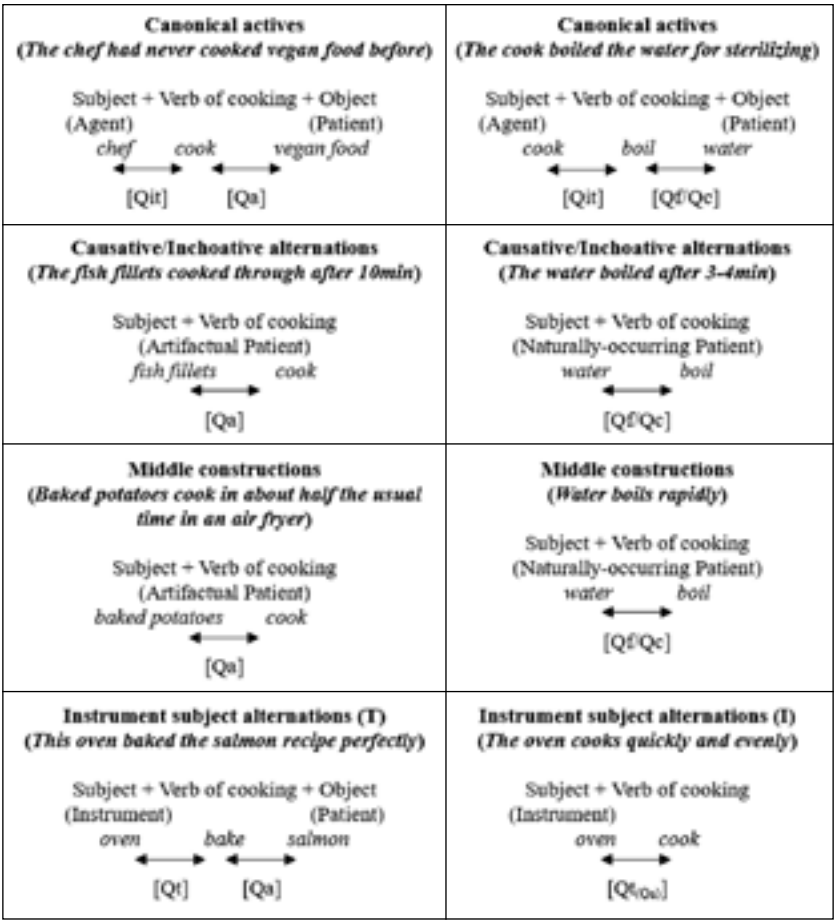

Figure 3. Qualia patterns in compositional analysis at the syntactic level

As shown in Figure 3, canonical actives within the field of cooking (as in Example 10) are transitive constructions that typically consist of patterns in which the cooking verb expresses the (Qit) of the subject. Depending on the nature of the Patient (whether artifactual or naturally-occurring), the cooking verb expresses a different pattern in qualia structure: in combination with artifactual Patients (like *vegan food*), the cooking verb expresses the (Qa) of the object, thus profiling the creation process that the entity undergoes. Alternatively,

in combination with a naturally-occurring entity (like *water*), the cooking verb expresses the (Qf/Qc) value of the object, since no (Qa) is found in natural kinds. Thus, canonical active structures with artifactual Patients involve a [Qit + Qa] qualia pattern in compositional analysis, whereas canonical actives with naturally-occurring entities as Patients profile the [Qit + Qf/Qc] qualia pattern.

Figure 3 further illustrates both causatives/inchoatives and middles as intransitive alternations. They have a common syntactic one-argument structure with a patientive subject. However, depending on the nature of the nominal entity (whether artifactual or naturally-occurring), a different qualia pattern is profiled in compositional analysis. In those structures with an artifactual Patient-oriented subject (as illustrated in Examples 12 and 14, respectively), the cooking verb co-specifies the (Qa) of the subject by conceptually implying its creation processes. However, in those structures with a natural-kind Patient-oriented subject (as in Examples 13 and 15, respectively), the cooking verb co-specifies the (Qf/Qc) values of the subject, since no (Qa) is found in natural kinds. Thus, causatives/inchoatives and middles with an artifactual Patient-oriented subject underlie the [Qa] qualia pattern in compositional analysis, but with natural-kind Patient-oriented subjects they undergo the [Qf/Qc] pattern. The main difference between these constructions is that causatives/inchoatives involve a specific time reference, whereas middles incorporate adverbial/modal modifiers (time-oriented adjuncts in 14 and 15) that influence their aspectual properties and reinforce their non-eventive nature (Palma Gutiérrez 2022: 44).

The same qualia analysis can be applied to the passive structure. Even though Levin (1993) does not contemplate passives as possible alternations with cooking verbs, this Patient-subject alternation has been found very frequently in the corpora examined, as detailed below.[7] The main difference between the passive and the other Patient-oriented structures (middles and causatives/inchoatives) is that the passive Agent is either defocused (in a *by-* clause) or omitted syntactically, whereas in the other structures, the Agent is totally demoted.

Finally, the Instrument-subject alternations illustrated in Figure 3 capture both the transitive and the intransitive syntactic counterparts (respectively shown in Examples 16 and 17). Semantically, both alternations contain Instruments in subject position (*oven*), and thus, their cooking verbs express the (Qt) of these participants. The main difference between these alternations is that the transitive counterpart encodes the patientive object at the syntactic level, whereas the intransitive counterpart conceptually evokes it via metonymy. As detailed below, in order to analyse the intransitive counterpart, I examine the notion of conceptual modulation of noun meaning (Pustejovsky and Jezek 2016: 12) based on the predicate's argument selection process through a metonymic operation.

First, in the case of the transitive counterpart of the Instrument-subject alternation, I observed the following. In the selectional context of the verb *bake*, the noun *salmon* is used to explicitly denote the entity that undergoes the baking process (Qa), thus profiling the [Qt + Qa] qualia pattern in compositional analysis. However, in the intransitive counterpart, I explored the notion of conceptual modulation of noun meaning via metonymy. In the selectional context of the verb *cook*, the noun *oven* is used to implicitly denote the entity that undergoes the cooking process (Qa) by means of the metonymic complex INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION FOR RESULT (Serrano-Losada 2015: 43). This metonymic complex implies a dual analysis: first, a domain expansion metonymy whereby the instrumental entity *oven* stands for the action denoted *cooking* (i.e. INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION), and then, a domain reduction metonymy whereby the action of *cooking* stands for its resulting product *food* (i.e. ACTION FOR RESULT). Therefore, intransitive alternations of the Instrument-subject construction profile the [$Qt_{[Qa]}$] qualia pattern in compositional analysis, where the (Qa) value is metonymically embedded within the (Qt) of the N+V qualia pair.

Yet, as observed in the corpora, another metonymic relation is possible with intransitive Instrument-subject alternations like *The kettle boiled*. In this case, in the selectional context of *boil*, the noun *kettle* is used to metonymically evoke a CONTAINER FOR CONTENT relation ('kettle' for 'water contained in the kettle'). In contrast to the analysis carried out in Example 17, where a (Qa) value is embedded within the (Qt) relation between *oven* and *cook* ([$Qt_{[Qa]}$]), in the case of *The kettle boiled*, the embedded qualia values are (Qf/Qc) because the nominal *water* is of a natural kind ([$Qt_{[Qf/Qc]}$]). Exploring which type of nominal entity is most frequently topicalised when in combination with these verbs demonstrates the tendency of these N+V combinations to participate in certain syntactic alternations more productively.

As shown in Table 3, the four verbs under study were more productive in the canonical pattern in both corpora, despite their differences in size. The main differences were found in the second most productive N+V pairs retrieved in each case.

	Specialised corpus (SC)				**General corpus (GC)**			
	cook	*bake*	*boil*	*fry*	*cook*	*bake*	*boil*	*fry*
Canonical	265	64	129	221	953	902	1042	975
Caus/Incho	20	0	18	0	661	499	436	500
Middle	2	0	4	0	139	296	208	38
Instr. Subj	2	6	0	0	99	213	206	0
Passive	156	2	2	1	115	69	32	110

Table 3. Frequency of the syntactic alternations with each verb in both corpora

The data displayed in Table 3 confirms the research hypothesis: there exists a correlation between the most productive N+V qualia pairs and the most frequent syntactic constructions found in the corpora. First, the N+V[*cook*] combinations suggest the following: the most salient pairs are *cook_chicken* (in the SC) and *cook_food* (in the GC), thus entailing a higher productivity of the basic/canonical action chain with Patients in object position and Agents in subject position (which can be elicited in the imperative form) in both corpora. Additionally, other salient N+V[*cook*] combinations are *potato_cook* (in the SC) and *chef_cook* (in the GC). The former indicates a higher productivity of grammatical patterns containing patientive subjects (such as passives, causative/inchoatives or middles) in the SC, whereas the latter implies a higher productivity of Agent-subject structures, whether in the canonical form (i.e. also including a Patient in object position) or in the unspecified object alternation (i.e. with no object specified).

Second, the N+V[*bake*] combinations show that the most salient pairs are *bake_pie* (in the SC) and *bake_bread* (in the GC), therefore pointing to a higher productivity of the basic/canonical action chain with Patients in object position in both corpora. Also relevant is the case of *oven_bake*, which is highly frequent in both corpora and implies a higher productivity of the Instrument-subject alternation (transitive and intransitive variants) in both corpora.

Third, the N+V[*boil*] combinations indicate that the most salient pairs are *boil_potato* (in the SC) and *boil_water* (in the GC), thus revealing a higher productivity of the canonical structure with Patients in object position in both corpora. Additionally, the other most salient N+V[*boil*] combinations are *water_boil* (in the SC) and *pot_boil* (in the GC). The former would lead to a higher productivity of Patient-oriented subject (such as middles, passives or causative/inchoative alternations) in the SC, whereas the latter would imply a higher productivity of Instrument-subject alternations in the GC.

Finally, the N+V[*fry*] combinations show that the most salient pairs are *fry_onion* (in the SC) and *fry_egg* (in the GC), therefore indicating a higher productivity of canonical patterns with patientive objects in both corpora. Additionally, in the GC we also observe another highly salient pair, *egg_fry*, therefore implying a higher productivity of Patient-subject structures (like middles, passives or causatives/inchoatives).

Therefore, the data provided in Table 3 above, together with the previous discussion of the connections between the normalised frequency of occurrence of certain N+V qualia pairs and certain syntactic patterns, demonstrate that these correspondences are different in each corpus, and this contrast contributes to the

lexico-semantic and syntactic characterisation of the discourse of cooking. In both corpora, the most frequent grammatical pattern is the canonical structure with the four verbs. However, the second most salient syntactic alternations differ in both corpora. In the GC, the second most productive structure is the causative/inchoative alternation with the four verbs due to the saliency of N+V combinations containing Patient-oriented subjects. On the other hand, in the SC, each verb is more productive in different structures, either relying on the saliency of N+V pairs with Patient- or Instrument-oriented subjects: *cook* is more frequent in the passive form, *bake* in the Instrument-subject alternation, *boil* in the causative/inchoative alternation and *fry* in the passive form.

5. Conclusions

This paper analyses naturally-occurring language by applying the principles of argument selection phenomena to examine the motivating factors behind the processes of qualia-pairing and co-specification in the specialised discourse of cooking. To do so, I examined the selectional contexts of four cooking verbs (*cook, bake, boil* and *fry*) and the most salient nominal entities (in subject/object positions) in combination with these verbs in two corpora (a specialised corpus and a general corpus). This led to the creation of different argument structure realisations as well as distinctive syntactic alternations in which the N+V combinations were found. The results of this corpus-based study shed light on the lexico-semantic and syntactic characterisation of the specialised discourse of cooking.

As demonstrated here, the type of nominal entity most frequently topicalised with the cooking verbs examined shows the tendency of each N+V combination to participate more productively in certain syntactic alternations. In both corpora, the four verbs are more productive in the canonical pattern. Concerning the remaining less prototypical syntactic alternations, there are different tendencies depending on the nature of the most frequent N+V pairs with each verb. In the GC, the most frequent non-prototypical alternation is the causative/inchoative pattern with the four verbs. In contrast, in the SC, other grammatical structures become salient.

Regarding the notion of qualia structure, I have also demonstrated that these cooking verbs express a (Qit) value when combined with agentive subjects. This is illustrated in the N+V qualia pairs *chef_cook, baker_bake* and *cook_fry*. These cooking verbs express divergent patterns in qualia structure depending on the nature of the patientive entities they accompany (whether artifactual or naturally-

occurring). Therefore, artifactual Patients (in both subject and object position) with cooking verbs evoke a (Qa) relation in their qualia patterns. These nominals co-specify the meaning of the predicates by conceptually implying their creation process (Qa) and encoding the resulting outcome. This is illustrated in the N+V qualia pair *bread_bake, egg_fry* and *potato_cook*. However, this relation is not found in naturally-occurring Patients with cooking verbs, since natural kinds have (nil Qa) and thus profile a (Qf/Qc) value in co-specification with the predicates, as shown in the N+V qualia pair *water_boil*. Finally, the cooking verbs examined here express a (Qt) value when combined with Instrument subjects in both transitive and intransitive counterparts. This is illustrated in the N+V qualia pairs *pot_boil, oven_cook, oven_bake* and *kettle_boil*.

When the above N+V qualia pairs are examined regarding the syntactic alternations that these cooking verbs can undergo, the following patterns in compositional co-specification are found:

(i) Canonical active structures represent one of these complex patterns depending on the nature of the grammatical object: [Qit + Qa] or [Qit + Qf/Qc].

(i) Causatives/Inchoatives, middles and passives illustrate one of these simple patterns depending on the nature of the grammatical subject: [Qa] or [Qf/Qc].

(iii) Instrument-subject alternations denote one of these qualia patterns depending on the occurrence or not of a metonymically-based operation on the grammatical subject: [Qt + Qa], $[Qt_{[Qa]}]$ or $[Qt_{[Qf/Qc]}]$.

This study has examined contextual modulation of word meaning by exploring the process of compositional argument selection in N+V qualia pairs in the specialised discourse of cooking. The significance of the present study for the specialised domain of cooking is directly associated with its linguistic characterisation in terms of its lexico-semantic and syntactic features, particularly, when in combination with a usage-based approach. Future lines of research may explore other syntactic alternations, as well as other metonymically-based operations.

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Notes

1. Levin also presents other alternations with cooking verbs (adjectival passive participle alternations (e.g. *a baked potato*), and resultative phrases (e.g. *Jennifer baked the potatoes to a crisp*)) (1993: 244). However, these were discarded because the former have a lexical (not a syntactic) nature, and thus, no transitivity alternations can be examined, and the latter, because no instances were found in the corpora consulted.

2. The process of lexical decomposition follows the idea that words can be decomposed into semantic primitives annotated as (±) binary values. For example, the word *chair* can be decomposed as [-Animate], [+Countable], [+Concrete], [+Artifact].

3. As Pustejovsky and Jezek explain, "[a] qualia pair may take the form of a verb-noun pairing, and adjective-noun pairing, or a compound" (2016: 31). This paper focuses exclusively on N+V qualia pairs to analyse the argument selection process within the specialised discourse of cooking.

4. Association score uses pointwise mutual information between the target word and its collocate, multiplied by the log of the pair frequency for the particular grammatical relation examined. Association score uses the so-called logDice statistical measure to automatically identify collocations and frequent combinations of words and is not affected by the size of the corpus (Rychlý 2008).

5. In Table 2, both raw frequency and normalised frequency are provided. Even though the raw frequency in the SC is minimal compared to that of the GC, the normalised frequency is higher in the SC. This is so because the N+V pairs are more productive in the SC than in the GC, despite their size.

6. The qualia representation of the naturally-occurring entity *water* merges Qf and Qc values because we cannot separate what this entity is (Qf) from what it is made of (Qc). In fact, we could specify the Qc value since each water molecule is identical and is made up of one oxygen atom and two hydrogen atoms, chemically represented as H2O. However, its Qf value cannot be separated from this established Qc condition.

7. Two syntactic patterns not proposed by Levin (1993) as potential alternations with cooking verbs were identified in the GC (not in the SC), particularly, with the verbs *cook* and *bake*, distributed as follows: 26 instances with *cook* and 19 with *bake* in the unspecified object alternation, and seven instances with *cook* and two with *bake* in the benefactive alternation.

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A STUDY OF BELIEFS ABOUT EMI PROGRAMMES IN A GALICIAN UNIVERSITY

ESTUDIO DE LAS CREENCIAS SOBRE EL APRENDIZAJE DE CONTENIDOS EN INGLÉS EN UNA UNIVERSIDAD GALLEGA

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Abstract

The beliefs that learners hold are a key variable in language learning, and from a socio-cultural perspective, learner beliefs are connected to the context in which learning takes place. This study, which forms part of a more extensive project on beliefs about English as a foreign language (EFL), explores the views of a group of students and instructors at the University of Santiago de Compostela (USC) regarding content learning in English. The beliefs of 373 students and instructors were measured by means of a questionnaire and interview. Despite indicating a generally positive predisposition towards EMI programmes, the responses varied based on the academic field of the course content, students' previous language-learning experience and the type of English instruction used in teaching. In addition, the data revealed a series of issues concerning the implementation of EMI programmes at the USC. This study is the first of its type to be conducted at this institution and one of the few in Galicia. Findings from the study underscore the context-specific nature of beliefs in general while also drawing the USC, together with other Spanish and foreign academic institutions, into a broader assessment and discussion of EMI programmes.

Key words: beliefs, context, English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI), programme implementation.

Resumen

Las creencias del estudiantado son una variable importante en el proceso de aprendizaje de un idioma, y desde un enfoque sociocultural, guardan una estrecha relación con el contexto donde se aprende. Como parte de un proyecto más extenso acerca de las creencias sobre el Inglés como Lengua Extranjera (ILE), en este estudio se exploraron las ideas preconcebidas de un grupo de estudiantes y profesores de la Universidade de Santiago de Compostela (USC) sobre el aprendizaje de contenidos en inglés. Para ello se recopiló información de 373 participantes mediante un cuestionario y una entrevista. Los datos indican que, a pesar de que los participantes mostraron una predisposición favorable hacia los programas EMI, el área académica del alumnado, su experiencia previa en el aprendizaje de idiomas, y el tipo de instrucción en inglés del profesorado marcaron algunas diferencias. Además, se identificaron una serie de cuestiones relacionadas con la implementación de estos programas en la USC. Al ser el primero de su tipo que se realiza en esta institución y uno de los pocos en Galicia, este estudio refuerza el carácter contextual de las creencias y ubica a la USC, junto a otras universidades españolas e internacionales, en la evaluación de los programas EMI.

Palabras clave: creencias, contexto, instrucción en inglés, implementación de programas.

1. Introduction

In recent decades, research has focused on the different ways in which beliefs are formed and how beliefs relate to the actions, emotions and identities of learners and instructors within the social and political contexts in which the teaching-learning process takes place (Ellis and Tanaka 2003; Kalaja et al. 2015). Several studies conducted in Spain have addressed the ways in which beliefs are related to different language-learning variables (Roothooft and Breeze 2016; Doiz et al. 2019; Rodríguez-Izquierdo et al. 2020). However, few have been carried out in Galicia, a region in northwestern Spain. One study, conducted by Cal Varela and Fernández Polo (2007), explored self-perceptions of English proficiency among the teaching staff at the University of Santiago de Compostela (USC) and the ability of these academics to carry out activities related to their work. However, students were not included as participants in the study. Another study, by Loredo Gutiérrez et al. (2007), surveyed the attitudes of Galician students toward multilingualism. The present study intends to fill the research gap by exploring the views of 373 USC students and faculty members regarding English as a medium of instruction (EMI).

As part of a process of internationalisation, Galician universities have enacted various initiatives to enhance their curricula in order to attract more students from outside the country. At the USC, where the present study was carried out, the last decade has seen the introduction of a wide range of extracurricular courses offered in different foreign languages (FLs) and an increasing number of for-credit courses in English. In addition, universities have taken measures to apply the Regulation for Quality Teaching in FLs (LEDUS in Galician), which demands that all university teaching staff demonstrate a CEFR C1 proficiency level if they are to teach a subject in English; to enrol in these courses, students are required to have a B2 level. This expanded course offering in FLs has had a direct impact on the beliefs and attitudes that students and faculty hold about English as a language of instruction for learning course content, and this is the dimension of EFL learning that this project sets out to explore. Evaluating how students and instructors perceive the implementation of academic programs such as EMI is necessary to make informed decisions that have implications for future educational initiatives of this kind.

2. Theoretical Background

2.1. Content Learning through English Instruction in Higher Education

The presence of EMI programmes in higher education curricula has expanded in recent times in step with the process of internationalisation. Yet, findings from studies on their effectiveness for learning have been rather ambiguous. On the one hand, EMI programmes are generally welcomed by students and educators (Doiz et al. 2011; Aguilar 2017; An and Thomas 2021) and have been associated with significant improvements in all four main English skills (Rogier 2012). Students have also acknowledged that EMI-based teaching has certain advantages, such as high student motivation due to the instrumental role of English, as EMI increases students' opportunities to practice their linguistic skills, thus making them better prepared for mobility and more competitive within the job market (Avello et al. 2016; Fernández-Costales 2017; Serna Bermejo and Lasagabaster 2023). University faculty also report that EMI programmes help them develop their linguistic competence, giving them an added feeling of accomplishment and satisfaction; additionally, these programmes are often tied to certain administrative and/or financial incentives (Dearden and Macaro 2016; Macaro et al. 2019).

On the other hand, several common issues surrounding the implementation of these programmes have been identified, mainly concerning the English

proficiency of learners and the preparedness and attitudes of instructors, together with issues relating to policy implementation and the involvement of other stakeholders. Regarding linguistic competence in English, much concern has been voiced about the ability of learners to assimilate content and develop linguistic skills through EMI (Doiz et al. 2011; Murata 2019; Wang 2021). In addition, challenges related to the development of disciplinary literacy and the distribution of EMI subjects across the curriculum are also seen as problematic (Airey 2011; Dearden 2018; Dafouz and Smit 2020).

The introduction of EMI programmes also leads to a change in the role of lecturers and professors. Different studies (Doiz et al. 2013b; Kirkgöz and Dikilitaş 2018; Murata 2019; Bowles and Murphy 2020) have identified both positive and negative aspects of EMI in this regard. The disadvantages include, for example, the general tendency for instructors who teach through EMI to sidestep linguistic issues in their practice (Doiz et al. 2011; Dafouz 2014; Aguilar 2017), largely because they are not English specialists. In addition, merely possessing linguistic expertise in English does not make an instructor qualified to deliver this type of teaching (Dearden and Macaro 2016; Akincioğlu 2024). Other issues such as the need for effective EMI assessment tasks, educators' concerns about the additional responsibilities and workload that EMI entails and the lack of administrative and financial support from other stakeholders (Aguilar 2017; Mede et al. 2018; Shohamy 2019) have also been detected.

Most of the concerns identified thus far in research seem to point to problems stemming from inconsistencies in policy implementation, which results in limited or incongruent procedures that hamper successful teaching and learning. This, coupled with the need to monitor and assess these programmes, plus the need for more human and financial resources, are pressing concerns in many institutions of higher education today (Roberts and Palmer 2011; Doiz et al. 2013a; Ekoç 2018), including the USC, as the present study seeks to show.

2.2. The Concept of Beliefs

In simple terms, a belief can be understood as a strong opinion about what is considered right, good or appropriate. In EFL, the beliefs of students and instructors are central to their approaches to and expectations about the learning process (Ellis 2008; Sadeghi and Abdi 2015). Beliefs have been found to play a key role, for instance, in the mismatch between the aims and behaviour of students and educators in the classroom, in the way students choose and deploy learning strategies, in levels of student anxiety, and in the degree of autonomy in the learning process (Barcelos and Kalaja 2006; Dafouz et al. 2016; Sydorenko et al. 2017; Doiz and Lasagabaster 2018; Moncada-Comas 2022). Woods (1996)

showed that teachers' beliefs about knowledge (BAK) were closely linked to their decisions when organising and delivering the course and also to their professional identity, which has been supported by more recent studies (Huang et al. 2021; Er 2024).

According to Vygotsky's socio-cultural theory (SCT), beliefs change under the influence of *significant others* (Barcelos and Kalaja 2011), that is, individuals or conditions relevant to the learner, such as other learners, friends, teachers, advisors and academic programmes. These sources provide varied interpretations, experiences, or circumstances related to the learning event, which learners and teachers assimilate and act upon. Among these significant others, scholars have identified, for example, the language-learning context (ESL vs EFL), classroom instruction, institutional policies, socio-cultural factors and new situational experiences (e.g. university transfer due to changing cities, migration or Erasmus programmes) (Orduna-Nocito and Sánchez-García 2022; Sato and Storch 2022; Cots and Mancho-Barés 2024).

In the Spanish context, in their analysis of different learning environments (EFL formal instruction, Study-abroad (SA) and English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI)), Pérez Vidal et al. (2018) reported on more pragmatic benefits and more self-confidence for EMI students as compared to students with SA experience. In addition, Doiz and Lasagabaster (2018) and Serna Bermejo and Lasagabaster (2023) found a relationship between L2 motivation and EMI contexts among Spanish learners. More recently, interest has focused on the socio-academic context and perceptions of students and teachers (Pérez-Llantada 2018; Rubio-Cuenca and Perea-Barberá 2021; Velilla Sánchez 2021) to identify issues and implement initiatives to improve the quality of EMI programmes.

3. The Study

EMI programmes are a type of *significant other* according to SCT and discussed above. That is, they are a learning environment which will inevitably affect the beliefs of students and instructors. In turn, their beliefs about these courses will influence their choice of learning and teaching strategies, as well as their motivation and attitude towards the learning process. With this in mind, the present study focused on two main research questions:

RQ1. What are the beliefs of USC students and instructors from different academic disciplines about learning course content in English?

RQ2. How do USC students and teaching staff evaluate the implementation and functioning of EMI programmes?

3.1. Participants

Of the 649 USC informants who participated in the main study about beliefs, 57% (n=373) provided data about their beliefs regarding content learning in English, 338 of whom were students and 35 were instructors. Table 1 below outlines the main demographic characteristics of this population sample.

STUDENTS (n = 338)			
Academic level	**Sex**	**Nationality**	**Academic areas**
1st year n=124 (37%)	Females n=238 (70%)	Foreign n=32 (10%)	English Studies n=99 (29%)
2nd year n=75 (22%)	Males n=100 (30%)	Spanish n=306 (90%)	Other lang and lit n=20 (6%)
3rd year n=70 (21%)			Cultural studies n=7 (2%)
4th year n=61 (18%)			Chemistry n=78 (23%)
Master P. n=8 (2%)			Physics n=16 (5%)
			Double degrees (Nat Sc) n=9 (2%)
			Engineering n=17 (5%)
			Journalism and AdV Comm n=6 (2%)
			Criminology and Law n=19 (6%)
			Odontology n=27 (8%)
			Educational Sciences n=40 (12%)
INSTRUCTORS (n=35)			
Level taught	**Sex**	**Nationality**	**Type of English instruction**
Undergraduate n=17 (48%)	Females n=17 (49%)	Foreign n=4 (11%)	EMI programmes n=16 (45%)
Under- and postgraduate n=17 (48%)	Males n=18 (51%)	Spanish n=31 (88%)	General English programmes (Philology, ESP) n=19 (55%)
Postgraduate only n=1 (3%)			

Table 1. Demographic characteristics of the USC population sample

3.2. Methodology

A total of 338 students completed an online questionnaire on beliefs, of whom 56 were also interviewed. Meanwhile, 35 faculty members responded to the questionnaire, 22 of whom participated in an interview. The student questionnaire was a 39-item inventory based on the Beliefs About Learning Language Inventory

(BALLI) for FL students (Horwitz 1988). It included four items on beliefs about EMI programmes, of which one close-ended question (36) was an opener to another three (37-39). The 34-item questionnaire version for instructors included two items related to EMI programmes. To tailor the study to the USC context, the two questionnaires were available in multilingual format (Galician, Spanish, English) and included a final section for open comments. The reliability of each tool, which was measured using Cronbach's alpha, ranged between 0.6 and 0.7.

Face-to-face semi-structured interviews were carried out with students and instructors, using a set of 16 questions for students and 12 for instructors; each set included one question and a number of prompts about EMI programmes. The shortest conversations with students lasted about 27-30 minutes, and 31 of these shortest conversations were held individually. The longest interviews lasted approximately 52 minutes, six of them were held with two students and three of them with focus groups of 4-5 students. Meanwhile, the instructors discussed EMI programmes during individual interviews that lasted about 37 minutes. The interviews were also offered in multilingual versions, and all answers were transcribed orthographically for analysis.

As stipulated by the ethical guidelines of the USC (Código de Boas Prácticas Na Investigación 2018: 11-12), consent was obtained from all participants prior to collecting the study data, and informant anonymity was guaranteed through data coding. Quantitative data were analysed using a variety of statistical tests available in the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) with an alpha level set at.05, while NVivo software was used for thematic analysis of the interview data. Based on the research questions, three variables were used to contrast each group of participants, that is, the students' field of study, their foreign language experience, and their sex; in the case of instructors, the variables used were years of professional experience, type of English instruction, and sex.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. The Pattern of Beliefs of Students and Instructors about EMI

As regards the student questionnaire, three main statements (STs) were used to explore their perceptions about learning through EMI.

ST37. My level of satisfaction about learning English through another subject is (*very low /low/a bit low/a bit high/high/very high*).

ST38. When I learn other subjects in English, my English skills develop (*not a bit/very little/a bit/moderately/much/very much*).

ST39. When I learn a subject in English, I learn the content of this subject (*I can't learn it/with much difficulty/with difficulty/with some difficulty/ easily/very easily*).

Concerning the first research question, the findings show a generally homogenous pattern of beliefs both among students and teaching staff about EMI, with differences emerging based on variables such as disciplinary area and the type of instruction.

4.1.1. *Quantitative Data from Students' Questionnaire Responses*

The reported level of satisfaction with learning content through English among students was rather minimal (*M*=3.7). Whereas the informants expressed that they are capable of learning the content of the academic subjects relatively well (*M*=4.21), they believed the development of their language competence in English to be limited (*M*=4.05). As one of the informants commented,

> …having other subjects in English serves to learn specific vocabulary rather than to develop skills, in my opinion and personal experience. (QtSt282)

The analysis of the variables confirmed this general belief pattern, while certain contrasts also became evident.

4.1.1.1. *Variable 1: Learners' Area of Study*

Regarding the areas of study in which learners were enrolled, a comparison of responses across three main discipline areas yielded significant statistical differences. As expected, responses to ST37 by Humanities and Social Sciences students contrasted with those of the other groups in all three items related to EMI (Table 2).

GROUPS: G1 HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES (n=126)
G2 NATURAL SCIENCES (n=103)
G3 APPLIED SCIENCES (n=109)

Questionnaire statement (ST)	Mean value	Significant differences
ST37. My level of satisfaction with learning English through another subject is…	G1 (*M*=4.03)	
	G2 (*M*=3.28)	G1-G2 (*p*<.001)
	G3 (*M*=3.74)	
ST38. When I learn other subjects in English, my English skills develop…	G1(*M*=4.48)	G1-G2 (*p*<.001)
	G2 (*M*=3.63)	
	G3 (*M*=3.94)	G1-G3 (*p*<.001)
ST39. When I learn a subject in English, I learn the content of this subject…	G1(*M*=4.47)	G1-G2 (*p*=.01)
	G2(*M*=4.13)	
	G3(*M*=3.99)	G1-G3 (*p*< .001)

Table 2. Statistically significant differences in responses across the three main disciplinary areas

To obtain a more detailed account of students' beliefs across specific academic fields, the questionnaire responses were also organised into 11 different academic subgroups containing one or two related degrees. The statistically significant differences found are shown in Figure 1 below.

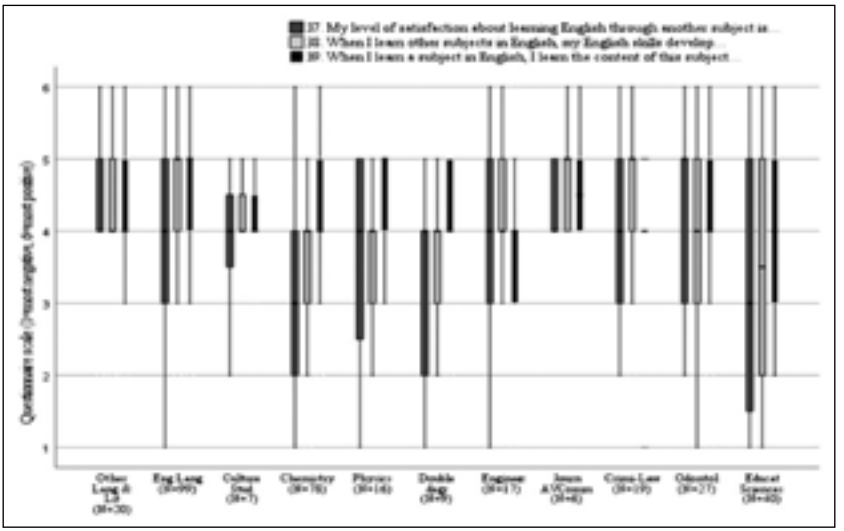

Figure 1. Statistical differences in responses across the 11 academic areas (n=338)

As can be observed, the responses to ST37 varied across the different disciplinary fields. The learners who reported the strongest dissatisfaction with the EMI experience were those enrolled in chemistry (*M*=3.21) and educational sciences (*M*=3.08). However, fewer significant differences were found for statements 38 and 39, and the pattern described in Table 2 above was confirmed, with students in English studies acknowledging greater development of their language skills (*M*=4.56) and more effective learning of the course content (*M*=4.53). All in all, the informants reported that they learned the content of their respective academic subjects relatively well, while they perceived their language learning was limited.

These results mirror the unbalanced EMI learning scenario in terms of content and language-learning outcomes in higher education (HE) that Airey describes (2016: 73). He explains that, when enrolling in EMI courses, students are expected to have already acquired sufficient linguistic competence in pre-university education. Yet, as we shall see throughout this section, not only are the student informants affected by this imbalance in EMI programmes, but also by

insufficient linguistic preparation before starting them. Other research has also pinpointed the different issues that this imbalance may cause for students' learning (Arnó-Macià and Aguilar-Pérez 2021; Pun and Jin 2021; Zhang and Pladevall-Ballester 2021).

4.1.1.2. *Variable 2: Language-Learning Experience (LLE)*

This variable comprised three sub-variables: the number of languages that students knew other than their L1 —here called extra languages (ExL)—, the number of foreign languages they had learnt through formal instruction (LFI), and their SA experiences. The results for this variable, as shown in Table 3, confirm that those students who have learnt more languages and those with some SA experience hold different beliefs about EMI learning.

Sub-variable 1: Extra Languages (ExL)	**ST37 My level of satisfaction...is...**	**ST38...my English skills develop...**
1ExL (n=106)	(*M*=3.37)	(*M*=3.72)
2ExL (n=151)	(*M*=3.79)	(*M*=4.04)
3ExL (n=59)	(*M*=4.08)	(*M*=4.61)
Significant differences	3ExL and 1ExL (*p*=.01)	3ExL and 1ExL (*p*<.001) 3ExL and 2ExL (*p*=.02)
Significant correlations	-	-
Sub-variable 2: Languages learnt by FI (LFI)		
1LFI (n=171)	(*M*=3.50)	(*M*=3.91)
2LFI (n=150)	(*M*=3.89)	(*M*=4.15)
3LFI (n=14)	(*M*=4.36)	(*M*=4.64)
Significant differences	3LFI and 1LFI (*p*=.02)	-
Significant correlations	-	Positive [*r* (338) = .13, *p*=.015]
Sub variable 3: SA experience		
SA (n=93)	(*M*=3.89)	(*M*=4.30)
No SA (n=245)	(*M*=3.64)	(*M*=3.96)
Significant differences	-	*t*(336) = -2.28, *p*=.02
Significant correlations	-	Positive [*r* (338) = .12, *p*=.023]

Table 3. Significant differences and correlations for ST37 and ST38 based on LLE (n=338)

These results mirror past investigations that clarify the cognitive benefits of increasing the linguistic repertoire and spending time in environments where English is the native language (Kristiansen et al. 2008; Fox et al. 2019). In addition, SA experiences in combination with formal instruction increase students' instrumental and integrative motivation and trigger belief changes as

regards learning strategies and autonomous learning (Serrano et al. 2016; McManus 2023).

4.1.1.3. *Variable 3: Sex*

Female students reported more English linguistic growth (M=4.16) through EMI lessons than males (M=3.79, p=.01), and they also reported more effective learning of course content (M=4.29) than their male counterparts (M=4.02, p=.01). Possible explanations for these findings include higher motivation and a more effective use of learning strategies by females as identified in previous research. They have been found to use, for example, more strategies for general study, for practicing formal rules and for conversation than their male counterparts (Dörnyei and Ryan 2015; Montero-Saiz Aja 2021).

4.1.2. *Quantitative Data from Instructors' Questionnaire Responses*

Data related to the opinions of instructors about learning academic content in English was elicited through questionnaire statements 29 and 32 and explored in greater depth through the interviews. The wording for these items was as follows:

ST29. In Galicia students who start their university degree have a good level of English (a B1 at least). *(Strongly disagree…Strongly agree)*

ST32. I think they should include more subjects in English as part of the university curriculum/programmes. [*Yes, but only if they are optional subjects / Yes, either as optional, compulsory or core subjects / No (… please…comment…on the reasons.)*]

Concerning student English proficiency on enrolment in university studies, 80% of the teaching staff (n=28) concurred that this level is below the required standard for HE (M=2.57). As for ST32, more than half of the instructors (57%, n=20) supported the introduction of more EMI courses in the curriculum only if these were offered as elective courses. Based on the variables of sex and years of experience, no significant statistical differences were found. However, regarding the type of instruction (i.e. GE or EMI), it seems that the EMI instructors are more enthusiastic about the further implementation of EMI courses (M=2.75) than the GE instructors (M=2.26; p=.02). As language specialists, it seems more natural for the latter to identify implicit or secondary aspects, whether linguistic and/or pedagogical, that may impinge on students' learning and development. In contrast, EMI instructors seem to be more positive based on the utilitarian value of the language and the gratifying experience of teaching in a FL, as they attested in the interviews.

4.1.3. Qualitative Data from the Interviews

In terms of motivation and attitudes towards EMI programmes, about 89% of the students (n=50) welcomed further implementation of these courses due to the instrumentality of English, in that it guarantees preparedness for future employment (8 ref),[1] a variety of social opportunities (6 ref), better access to post-graduate studies and research materials (7 ref) and enriched disciplinary and language learning (2 ref). For their part, the instructors acknowledged the usefulness of the language as a professional tool, not only for their students, but also for themselves (4 ref). In addition, EMI instructors acknowledged that their role grants them advantages regarding their teaching timetable and provides a good opportunity to practice the language (4 ref).

Some lecturers and professors considered the students' insufficient level of English a hindrance to the learning of specific academic subjects (4 ref), and that content learning is easier in a student's mother tongue (2 ref). In addition, some argued that EMI should not be imposed since there are other foreign languages to learn as well (2 ref). Other instructors expressed their disapproval of EMI, indicating that the challenge it poses for learners might lead to negative attitudes towards the language. Indeed, some comments by EMI students also show evidence of this issue:

> In any case, to have to study a subject in a language that you cannot use proficiently is always a challenge. (QtSt252)[2]
>
> I don't think I have upgraded my…language skills…in English at the USC. I think my skills have improved very little compared to the level I had when I finished high school, which is disappointing. (QtSt420)

The informants broadly agreed that learning English is different from learning other subjects. Based on this belief, it is understandable that acquiring and teaching content through EMI is very challenging, in that students and educators must learn and teach, respectively, while engaged in course content that requires different processes of learning. This issue has also been noted in previous studies (Cots 2013; Doiz et al. 2013b; Dafouz 2014; Pérez Vidal 2015; An and Thomas 2021).

4.2. Evaluation of EMI Programmes

In relation to the second research question regarding the implementation of these programmes, the interviews revealed diverse sets of concerns.

4.2.1. *Student and Instructor Proficiency*

The comments of some instructors made clear that low levels of English proficiency of beginning students at the USC were an issue:

> Another problem is the uneven level of the students; for instance, some of them want an exam in English but some others don't. (EMI-IntT13)[3]
>
> According to the official regulations, students are expected to have a B2 level… but it is unrealistic. So… this means I'm forced to build basic language skills while trying to force the programme as much as I can… The official regulations describe multilingual students, and they say their level is high when it is really low. (GE-IntT16)

For their part, the students also acknowledged that their levels of proficiency, as well as those of professors and lecturers, were not good enough for effective EMI learning (5 ref). Pre-service instructors noted having received very little training in English as future primary school teachers (2 ref), which echoes findings reported by Loredo Gutiérrez et al. (2007) about a group of teachers in training of whom less than 50% perceived their competence in English to be high. Apart from their previous language-learning experiences in secondary education, this also reflects the different levels of exposure to learning in English because of the uneven distribution of courses across USC faculties and schools. For example, at the beginning of the present study, only four subjects were taught in English in the Faculty of Education, whereas 13 subjects were taught in the language in the Faculty of Chemistry. An additional issue that underlies the negative opinions of pre-service teaching staff seems to be the quality of the teaching they experience. When asked if more courses in English should be included in the curriculum, they stated:

> What should be established is that if we have a good foundation at the secondary and high school levels, we can have courses taught in English at the university. (IntSt18)
>
> Yes, they [courses in English] should be included. We only had one subject over three months taught by three teachers, none of whom spoke in English. And they just focused on the basic grammar as usual. (IntSt21)

Furthermore, most of the participating instructors (95%, n=21) commented on the preparation and attitudes of students and staff on EMI programmes. As the following comments illustrate, the instructors themselves pointed out the need for better training:

> As to the teacher… they should allow us to take some lessons in English, for example, for a better preparation. (EMI-IntT12)
>
> I have a C1 level and would like to continue learning… I think all EMI teachers have language limitations… Some students are way better than me in English because they have lived abroad, or they are Erasmus students. (EMI-IntT13)
>
> In the case of the other faculties, I see the advantages of EMI only if the teachers are well prepared to deliver the lessons in English. As to the students…the level is so unequal that perhaps it would be best to teach them English as a separate subject and not… through the degree subjects. So, I think there's more will to internationalize the degrees than to have the students learn. (GE-IntT22)

> They [instructors] need to prepare themselves to teach specific language, for instance, in a subject like English for law, the new ESP teacher needs to become familiar with areas such as civil law and criminal law…general English teachers do not normally learn terms related to law, business or science… thus, it's necessary to spend extra-time preparing lessons. (GE-IntT2)

These findings suggest a positive predisposition of EMI instructors to improve their language competence in English, which aligns with the results reported by Cal Varela and Fernández Polo (2007) about the motivations and beliefs of the USC staff. In addition, an imbalance was found in the skill levels of the teaching staff. On the one hand, while GE instructors have high linguistic proficiency, they lack solid preparation to teach in ESP areas. On the other hand, pre-service teaching staff are given good pedagogical training, but linguistic training in their degree programmes is lacking. As regards the EMI instructors, although they are specialists in their respective content areas, they also seem to require more solid professional development, both pedagogically and linguistically. In this regard, different initiatives have been set in motion in Spain and beyond, such as EMI professional development and training programmes (Arnó-Macià and Aguilar-Pérez 2021; Dafouz 2021; Webster and Herington 2021; Morell et al. 2022; Gil and Mur-Dueñas 2023) which could serve as a blueprint to design solutions customised to the needs of students and faculty at the USC.

4.2.2. *Instructors' Attitudes and Pedagogical Practice*

Some comments by the EMI teaching staff illustrated that their teaching practice was rather intuitive and based on their beliefs about teaching in English, thus revealing a lack of pedagogical cohesion across the faculties and schools:

> In terms of materials, I give my master students everything in English just as it is stipulated in the programme. We are not allowed to give them any materials in Spanish or Galician… It is also true that sometimes if they come across a word they don't know, I translate it for them. (EMI-IntT12)

> So, I make clear from day one that I don't teach English, but I won't assess their English either… In the case of the materials I give them out in English. (EMI-IntT15)

> We should always be clear about the content, for instance, in the use of PowerPoint slides I include illustrations to accompany the meaning of new words, we use a combination of materials in English and Spanish… I don't assess their language skills but... What I don't do is to give them the translated word or to accept questions in Spanish or Galician. I [try] to force them to repeat [the question] in English. So, it's a mutual understanding that it is not an English class, but we try to understand each other in English. (EMI-IntT18)

In terms of methodological approaches when teaching classes through EMI, the instructors also attempt to use translanguaging,[4] albeit inconsistently, as can be gathered by some of their comments:

> In chemical engineering… students can take the same subject in Spanish/Galician or in English… In the case of the materials, I give them out in English… but via the forums they have access to the materials in Spanish… They could do without the English materials and use the Spanish ones, but I don't think they do because reading is one of their best skills. (EMI-IntT15)

> Because the level of my students is not homogenous, I would usually use my presentation slides in Spanish for those low-level students so that they may have a better chance to follow the content but in fact there are more materials and bibliography in English… so I give them terminology translated into Spanish (practically a literal translation). In a one-to-one interaction, I usually use Spanish if I see they don't understand the explanation in English or if they can't formulate questions clearly. But to address the whole class I usually use English. (EMI-IntT19)

These inconsistent pedagogical practices and assessment criteria are detrimental to the effectiveness of EMI programmes. The fact that students receive little or no feedback about their linguistic performance runs contrary to the aims of EMI to develop or reinforce their language skills. This means that some learners must assimilate course content in English despite poor linguistic competence attained in pre-university years. Along these same lines, the issue of the development of academic English skills for their future professions should also be addressed. As regards pedagogy, the compartmentalisation of languages, i.e. the use of English or Spanish rather than the full available language repertoire, creates what Doiz et al. refer to as "the hegemony of the monolingual mindset" (2013b: 215). In the case of the current study, based in the region of Galicia, such a monolingual approach is also detrimental to the use of the Galician language since it serves to foster the use of the more dominant L1 (Spanish) as a counterpart to English. Moreover, whereas team-teaching might not be feasible at the present time at the USC due to a shortage of teaching staff, it is an alternative worth exploring in the future.

4.2.3. *Curricular Organisation of EMI Programmes*

Other EMI implementation-related issues voiced by the faculty members involved the placing of EMI subjects in the most appropriate academic years or levels throughout the curriculum, which increases the difficulty of teaching these programmes (4 ref), as stated by one interviewee.

> They [students] may find these subjects difficult because they are normally placed in the last years of their degrees and some years have gone past since students last studied English. Hence, on the one hand, it would seem feasible for this type of English subject to be present at the beginning of their degree; however, on the other hand, at the beginning stages of a degree students are not familiar with some important concepts for their degrees and thus, it may seem useless to teach them some terms in English before they even know what they are in their native language(s) (GE-IntT2).

Additional suggestions regarding the implementation of this methodology included consistent need analysis and monitoring (1 ref), effective decision-making and support by stakeholders and local authorities, and sufficient academic, human and economic resources (7 ref). All these aspects impinge on the quality of EMI programmes, that is, on "the level of excellence at which the institutional EMI policy is reflected in instructional practices…, learning outcomes and alumni performance" (Akincioğlu 2024: 146).

4.2.4 *Linguistic Friction of EFL and L1s*

Finally, the data also showed the linguistic friction that can arise from the process of internationalisation in multilingual contexts (Doiz et al. 2011, 2014; Cots 2013). This is reflected in the ideological approach of two interviewees, the first of whom wondered, "Why do we have to give up Spanish as a LF and surrender to English?" (GE-IntT3). In a similar vein, a second instructor explained that EMI subjects widen the gap between those students with high and lower levels of proficiency. "It harms, consequently, those students whose skills are not linguistic" (GE-IntT5). Other participants also consider English as a form of imperialism, as these comments show:

> Although foreign languages are very important, I think it is more important to know your mother tongue very well. In the case of Galician people, it is sad when I hear them speak proficiently in English, Spanish, or other foreign languages but they can't produce a full correct sentence in Galician, the language of our land. (QtSt238)
>
> Forced linguistic colonialism has a negative impact on the recipient cultures. The educational, personal, and developmental benefits deriving from the learning of a foreign language are present regardless of the language learned. The impossibility of choosing beyond the English language is inadequate, and it leads students to think they are not good at languages since they cannot achieve a high level of competence in English in particular. (GE-QtT4)

This linguistic tension cannot be overlooked when implementing EMI programmes in multilingual regions since monolingual practices in English undermine the multilingual identities of the learners and teachers. Thus, EMI pedagogies should favor more inclusive, multilingual practices (Doiz et al. 2019; Akincioğlu 2024).

5. Concluding Remarks

In this study I have addressed two main research questions about EMI programs at the USC. The first one aimed to identify the beliefs of the participants about content learning in English in the different academic areas. The data reported here indicate that they share positive views about the implementation of EMI

courses, mostly due to the utilitarian use of English. A key finding in this study, however, is that the academic field of the students, as well as their linguistic experience, had a bearing on responses, as did the type of English instruction the teachers delivered. The primary implication of these findings is the need for customised pedagogies in EMI programmes at the USC.

As regards the second question, the perceptions of students and teaching staff about the EMI experience revealed various issues regarding the implementation of this methodology, such as inadequate linguistic preparation, inconsistent pedagogical practices and organisational difficulties. These data mirror the results of previous studies conducted both in Spain and abroad (Dafouz et al. 2016; Kirkgöz and Dikilitaş 2018; Pérez-Llantada 2018; Doiz et al. 2019; Arnó-Macià and Aguilar-Pérez 2021; Akincioğlu 2024). Thus, further evaluation and adjustment of the implementation policies of these programmes at the USC is required to tackle these issues.

The findings of this study not only contribute to the existing body of knowledge about learning through EMI but also carry significant implications since they could inform the process of curricular adaptation or design of EMI programmes to better align them with the learners' and educators' needs. In addition, these results could also provide insights for teacher-training initiatives and for more effective policy implementation including, for example, more resource allocation and better instruction and assessment practices. Within the classroom context, these findings could also be used by instructors to implement interventions to foster motivation, to use more effective pedagogies and to design materials that are better adapted to the students' learning needs.

While this project provides valuable insights regarding EMI programmes at the USC, it also has some limitations such as its exploratory character and the lack of participation of actors other than students and teachers. To overcome these limitations, future research should comprise a more in-depth analysis of the impact this methodology has on students' learning, and further examination of the implementation policies involving other stakeholders such as administrators and university councils. Finally, this study could be replicated in other institutions, thereby permitting the emergence of evolving solutions and fostering increased cohesion and functionality in EMI programmes across the Galician region and more broadly in Spain.

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Notes

1. In NVivo, a reference (ref) is the number of times an answer or argument was repeated.

2. Questionnaire-Student # (QtSt252).

3. GE or EMI Interview-Instructor # (GEIntT12 or EMI-IntT12).

4. Translanguaging: the use of the full linguistic repertoire of communicative strategies that speakers possess from the various languages that they know (Taken and adapted from www.dicenlen.eu).

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COLLABORATIVE ONLINE INTERNATIONAL LEARNING (COIL) BETWEEN SPANISH AND UKRAINIAN STUDENTS: NEW TASKS AND NEW RELATIONSHIPS

APRENDIZAJE INTERNACIONAL COLABORATIVO EN LÍNEA (COIL) ENTRE ESTUDIANTADO ESPAÑOL Y UCRANIANO: NUEVAS TAREAS Y NUEVAS RELACIONES

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Abstract

Nowadays, our professional lives face challenges that inevitably require a quick reaction and a shift in the field of education. Moreover, globalisation and the ongoing war in Ukraine motivate teachers to look for new opportunities to communicate across cultures. This research aims to analyse students' perceptions of the effects of collaborative online international learning (COIL). The study participants were 12 fourth-year Ukrainian students from Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv who were taking the course on Academic English within the Languages, Literature and Translation program and a group of 20 Spanish fifth-year students from Universitat Jaume I who were enrolled in the Business English course as part of the dual degree in Business Administration and Law. The methodology consisted of three stages. Firstly, participants used online communication tools to establish contacts with partners. Secondly, students discussed the topic of corporate sustainability on Zoom. Thirdly, each group used online collaborative teaching (OCT) to write an opinion essay. Results from the final questionnaire after the COIL experience confirmed that,

despite the difficulties due to the ongoing war in Ukraine, students' perceptions of their experience of COIL were positive. They were more motivated and believed the activity had helped them to improve their writing and speaking skills as well as their intercultural competence.

Keywords: collaborative online international learning, online collaborative teaching, IT tools, intercultural competence, students' learning self-perception.

Resumen

Actualmente, nuestra vida profesional se enfrenta a retos que inevitablemente requieren una rápida reacción y un cambio en la educación. Además, la globalización, y la guerra en curso en Ucrania, motivan al profesorado a buscar nuevas oportunidades para la comunicación intercultural. Esta investigación pretende analizar los efectos que produce en el estudiantado una experiencia de aprendizaje internacional colaborativo en línea (COIL por sus siglas en inglés). Los participantes en el estudio fueron 12 estudiantes ucranianos de la Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (Ucrania) de una asignatura de Inglés Académico en el cuarto curso del programa de Lenguas, Literatura y Traducción, y 20 estudiantes españoles de la Universitat Jaume I matriculados en Inglés para los Negocios en el quinto curso del doble grado de Administración de Empresas y Derecho. La metodología constó de tres fases. En primer lugar, los participantes se comunicaron en línea para establecer un primer contacto. En segundo lugar, debatieron sobre sostenibilidad corporativa en Zoom. En tercer lugar, cada grupo redactó un ensayo de opinión en colaboración. Los resultados del cuestionario final confirmaron que, a pesar de las dificultades debidas a la guerra en Ucrania, la percepción del estudiantado sobre su experiencia con COIL fue positiva. Estuvieron más motivados e indicaron que esta actividad les había ayudado a mejorar sus destrezas orales y escritas, y su competencia intercultural.

Palabras clave: aprendizaje internacional colaborativo en línea, enseñanza colaborativa en línea, herramientas informáticas, competencia intercultural, percepción del aprendizaje por los estudiantes.

1. Introduction

COIL (collaborative online international learning) is considered to be "a new teaching and learning paradigm that promotes the development of intercultural competence across shared multicultural learning environments" (Rubin and Wilson n.d.). COIL requires the engagement of a global network to provide a

context for virtual communication and collaboration among participants. This type of online learning gathers at least two groups of representatives from different cultural backgrounds and educational programs located in another city, country, continent and even time zone. Furthermore, participants in COIL initiatives may study different subjects, which means that an interdisciplinary approach is also one of the components of COIL. This type of collaborative learning can be synchronous or asynchronous, and language is the aspect that unites the participants. The beneficial outcomes of participation in COIL appear to be intercultural information exchange and practice with both previously and newly gained skills (Hackett et al. 2023).

Another valuable point is the opportunity to receive information about the world through eyes, senses, emotions and understanding directly from those who experience them. In such a way, we can form images and perceptions of the world. That is why COIL can promote students' intercultural awareness and foster their curiosity and motivation to learn more.

After gaining the experience of working outside the classroom during the two years of the COVID-19 pandemic, educators and students have become more acquainted with a wide range of educational IT platforms and tools. COVID-19 forced teachers to understand that the world, which was previously perceived as a 'small global village' where people had a great number of opportunities to travel, work, study and actually explore, may at a certain times force us into isolation, causing us to become unreachable. In this setting, teachers, now equipped with the skills to work online, feel more confident and ready to gain new experience in implementing the COIL methodology in their classrooms.

COIL fosters communication and collaboration across cultures without requiring physical border-crossing and can broaden students' awareness of cross-cultural communication and foster multicultural literacy. Students may participate in activities abroad, not only by acquiring new knowledge and improving skills developed previously, but also by sharing ideas, knowledge and experiences while staying at home and attending classes at their university. Moreover, this kind of activity requires the involvement of modern means of communication that are tightly connected with IT programs, platforms and applications, thereby enhancing students' digital literacy. In other words, COIL may help to raise a generation of technologically savvy global citizens with profound knowledge of others.

2. Literature Review

In the search for new angles and approaches for teaching and learning foreign languages, growing attention is being given to COIL (O'Dowd 2016; Marull and

Kumar 2020). Virtual exchange is considered to be an umbrella term for COIL (O'Dowd 2018), which is broader. There is a wide range of terminology used to denote technology-based learning and collaboration: online intercultural exchange (O'Dowd 2016), telecollaboration (Sonnenwald et al. 1999; Lee and Markey 2014; O'Dowd 2016), globally networked learning (Crabtree et al. 2008; McNair and Paretti 2010), internet-mediated intercultural foreign language education (Belz and Thorne 2006) and e-tandem (O'Rourke 2007) or teletandem (Telles and Leone 2016). The authors of this research agreed to use the term COIL, as for us, such notions as internationalisation and online learning are of central importance.

As great attention is paid nowadays to global citizenship education around the world, COIL approaches can be employed to foster "a flexible body of issues, skills, attitudes, and sensitivities that enable individuals to be thoughtful, responsible, participatory citizens of their local community, state, nation, and world" (Cruz 1998: 28). This means that by applying COIL, instructors may engage participants in meaningful interactions, such as dialogues between students from different cultures. This approach fosters cross-cultural awareness and helps students discover common ground while also encouraging an appreciation of the uniqueness of their own and others' perspectives. To reach this goal, classroom discussions about messages or problems depicted in videos or articles are beneficial, as they encourage students to draw on their knowledge and share experiences. Furthermore, the received knowledge, which is the product of collaboration with peers, could be a valuable source for further assignments, both oral and written (O'Dowd 2016). Thus, this type of online collaboration and communication has become vital for researchers and language learners as, through partnerships and networks, students perform various tasks and improve both their language skills and background knowledge of the topic.

O'Dowd (2016) delves into the tendency to involve university students in collaboration exchanges in many ways. For instance, the use of English, French, Spanish or other languages as a lingua franca can successfully build and develop students' intercultural and sociocultural competence and awareness of the role of a language in intercultural communication. Such activities enable the development of critical reflective skills of primary importance in our modern world, as they may help sustain peace and the principles of democracy or build cultural and economic contacts. Recognising COIL approaches helps improve soft skills and professional knowledge in the younger generation, which in turn might contribute to mitigating or preventing future economic crises and armed conflicts.

Moreover, King de Ramirez (2019) provides COIL project results among students enrolled in universities located in the Arizona-Sonora Megaregion. Using various platforms such as Facebook, Skype, WhatsApp, Gaming, Snapchat and Instagram,

participants collaborated in communication to discuss the political debates held due to the renegotiation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The aim of the project was to understand whether international online communication could increase students' awareness of intersections between local and global communities. In this research, COIL was intended to remedy a general lack of knowledge and communication between students who live in the Arizona-Sonora Megaregion within 70 miles of the United States-Mexico Border in either one or the other country. This can be considered an example of how collaborative initiatives can foster the development of essential global competences, including the ability to analyse international relations, critically appraise media and recognise the intricate connections that shape global interdependence. All of the aforementioned experiences demonstrate that COIL enhances global citizenship and language skills (Marginson and Sawir 2011).

The successful implementation of COIL encourages educators to conduct research and analyse the merits of COIL in different fields of science, as shown in the research conducted by Rubin (Center for Innovation in Teaching and Learning 2017), who implemented a four-credit COIL course on video production for university students from Belarus and the US. The purpose of the course was to identify and improve cross-cultural and professional competence. As part of the research, each team of students produced a 4-minute film on the theme chosen and later emailed the final video to the members of the second team. The outcomes reflected an improvement in professional skills and meaningful international experiences that enhanced cross-cultural sensitivity, comprehension and perception of the different images of the world (Center for Innovation in Teaching and Learning 2017).

Similarly, another group of educators implemented technology-based learning in a virtual exchange project between the Pereiaslav-Khmelnytskyi Hryhorii Skovoroda State Pedagogical, Ukraine, and Trakia University, Bulgaria (Rzhevskaya et al. 2020). The researchers found that students enrolled in non-engineering fields of study used well-known tools for their collaboration, resulting in a positive impact on their outcomes and gained further appreciation for learning new IT skills for successful cooperation and communication. Therefore, alongside improving language skills and communicating across cultures, students acquired new knowledge in the field of digital literacy.

The study carried out by Orsini-Jones and Lee (2018) provides an account of a COIL project dealing with the integration of global citizenship education into the curriculum and assessment of language courses provided at Coventry University, in the United Kingdom, and the Université de Haute-Alsace, in France. Students from both institutions used a common learning management

system, where they participated in activities related to developing strategies for intercultural pragmatics and netiquette.

Previous research has highlighted that students perceive COIL as an excellent tool to boost language skills, raise cross-cultural awareness, enhance professional knowledge and skills and develop critical thinking and IT literacy (Nguyen et al. 2024). It allows educators to engage at least two groups of students from universities in different counties or even continents to participate in discussions on socially relevant topics and to work collaboratively through an online platform using a lingua franca. Nguyen et al. (2024) found different ways in which students perceived an improvement of English as a lingua franca. On the one hand, they made an effort to make themselves understood and to understand their interlocutors by means of the resources available in online communication. As other authors (Çiftçi and Savaş, 2018) point out, in telecollaboration, learners' abilities to communicate and adapt interculturally can be boosted through problem-solving. Furthermore, Nguyen et al. (2024) showed that students believed COIL had helped them develop not only their English skills but also their attitudes, awareness, knowledge and intercultural skills, making them more confident to use English.

3. Objectives and Research Questions

Though previous studies have explored the use of COIL, to our knowledge none has dealt with COIL between Spanish and Ukrainian students, especially in wartime. This research aims to determine whether students perceive that COIL can create advantages for learning the English language and make them aware of cross-cultural communication, while they learn new content and cultural aspects. In order to reach this objective, the following research questions will be answered:

RQ 1. What is the students' perception on how COIL affects English language learning in interdisciplinary settings?

RQ 2. What additional benefits for global education do students report after the implementation of COIL?

4. The Study

4.1. Participants and Context

The study participants comprised 32 students from two groups: one consisting of fourth- and fifth-year students enrolled at Universitat Jaume I (UJI), Spain, and

another from the Educational and Scientific Institute of Philology, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv in Ukraine (KNU). The students in the first group belonged to the dual degree in Business and Law who took the English for Specific Purposes (ESP) course titled Business English at UJI. The second group consisted of 12 students enrolled in a degree in Turkish, Persian, Chinese and English language and literature, and took a course in academic English at KNU. Although the special circumstances of Ukrainian students (most located in a country at war) were not taken into account for the development of the COIL activity and the research study, they inevitably affected participants' performance in several ways.

In November 2022, the second author of this article was a visiting professor at the UJI, teaching online at KNU, and together with the first author organised a series of COIL activities between students of the two institutions. Firstly, the students communicated online to establish contacts and find out information about the other country's customs and traditions as well as the university itself. For this purpose, students at both universities were divided into 12 groups and provided with the email addresses of their interlocutors to conduct the first online meeting outside the classroom. Then, all students had an online class (Google Meet) as part of their coursework. In the case of the KNU students, it was based on the course book *Global: Level Advanced, 2nd edition* by Lindsay Clandfield and Amanda Jeffries, Macmillan, 2016, and *Academic Writing, A Handbook for International Students, 3rd edition* by Stephen Bailey, Routledge, 2011. Regarding the students at the UJI, the class was about the specific disciplinary discourse of business in English. In both groups, the goal was to introduce the characteristics of academic discourse and to learn the strategies of source-based writing, the ways scientists integrate their ideas into their written texts, using paraphrasing, citations and stylistic devices to express different points of view; and rules for organising a list of references according to the APA, 7th edition.

4.2. The Task: Instruments and Procedure

The task was divided into 3 parts. First, the students in each group were assigned a partner from the other institution. As the number of students was not the same in both institutions, some Ukrainian students were assigned 2 Spanish students. The first part of the task consisted of establishing contact.

To facilitate this, all students were provided with a guide for the first virtual 40-minute interview, which included a list of 13 open-ended questions (see Appendix 1). The file was published on Google Classroom (for Ukrainian students) and Moodle (for Spanish students). This questionnaire was designed so that students could collect information about their counterparts' academic

background, personal interests and perspectives on their studies. Students' responses provided their partners with insights on the country and its culture and traditions. Additionally, in order to foster successful academic collaboration, it was essential for them to know more about their partners' study habits and learning preferences as well as their attitude toward time management and responsibility.

The aim of the second and third parts of the task was to learn about the discussion topic of corporate sustainability and the norms of written and spoken academic English. As preparation, students were provided with some instructions on the conventions of academic English and two scientific articles on corporate sustainability (Montiel and Delgado-Ceballos 2014; Michie 2018) which they had to read during the following week. Then, as a second part of the task, they were asked to participate in a live discussion on the topic, for which UJI students were in the classroom and connected online through Google Meet with KNU students, who were online and outside the classroom setting. To stimulate this discussion, they were provided with some questions to answer:

1. What do you think "corporate sustainability" is?
2. Are many companies committed to it?
3. Why? Why not?
4. Which aspects of corporate sustainability do companies mainly pay attention to: governance, product, economic and social impact, environment, energy saving?
5. Do big and small companies implement corporate sustainability measures in the same way?
6. How do you see the future of corporate sustainability?

After the discussion, students were given two more weeks to asynchronously prepare a collaborative academic research-informed opinion essay on corporate sustainability and then submit it as a Google Doc, as the third part of the task. In order to fulfill this task, they were provided with the instructions appearing in Appendix 2. Although an assessment of the quality of the essays is out of the scope of this research, it should be pointed out that they were assessed according to a rubric made known to the students and shared by both instructors, and the mark received for this thask counted for 15% of the final grade.

Before concluding the collaborative writing task, the students were asked to voluntarily fill in an anonymous questionnaire in a Google Form to analyse the outcomes of their collaboration (see Appendix 3). All the respondents gave their express consent to the processing of their data, and all personal and private information was anonymised and treated confidentially. The questionnaire consisted of 13 multiple-choice, open-ended and linear-scale questions, which

were designed to evaluate students' experience and perception of their collaborative online learning.

In order to achieve the study aims and answer the research questions, we analysed the anonymous answers provided voluntarily by students in the final questionnaire: their perception on the contribution of COIL to their English language learning and what it had meant as an intercultural and personal experience. Although 32 students participated in the COIL activities, the number of respondents to the second questionnaire was 27 (18 Spanish students and 9 Ukrainians). The answers were coded as Sp and Uk and assigned a number indicating the order in which the response was received. In the next section, the responses to this questionnaire will be analysed in order to answer the research questions.

5. Results and Discussion

Before answering the research questions, there are some data about the participating students that need to be highlighted. It was essential to know whether the students had any experience in participating in COIL activities; the answers to questions 1 and 2 would help predict obstacles and barriers to participating successfully. In the case of UJI students, 90% acknowledged it was their first COIL experience, and for 56% of them, this was the first time they communicated with someone for whom English was not their native language. In the case of KNU students, it was surprising that for all of them it was the first time they had contacted foreigners with whom they could only speak in English, even though for only 60% of the students it was their first COIL experience. The explanation is that some students had participated in previously organised virtual telecollaborations between Turkish and Ukrainian students who majored in Turkish linguistics. That is why the language of their communication was mainly Turkish; however, if miscommunications happened, they applied their knowledge of English.

It was revealing to learn the participants' preferences for communicating with each other: they communicated using online video meetings, email or texting on social networks. Unfortunately, the time chosen for the COIL activities in 2022 coincided with electricity outages throughout the territory of Ukraine, thus raising the researchers' concern about the impact of technical obstacles, which could cause frustration and disappointment with the COIL experience for students. As a result, the researchers did not insist on synchronous spoken communication. However, students overcame these difficulties, communicating mainly by email or texting, with about 50% successfully holding video communication on Zoom, Meet or WhatsApp (questions 3-6). To meet the requirements of the thask, the Ukrainian students tried to find cafes, restaurants or offices which had generators

to produce electricity and cope with power cuts. That is why 90% of all participants had a fluent exchange of messages, in which they shared information and organised their work, especially the collaborative writing task.

The analysis of the questionnaire data (question 7) revealed similarities and differences in the topics discussed. For instance, 100% of the Ukrainian students concentrated their attention on exchanging information and organising collaborative writing, followed by 89.9% who discussed the task performance and 77% who addressed personal matters (Figure 1). Similarly, 100% of the Spanish students prioritised the topics on organising collaborative writing, while 88.9% concentrated on exchanging information and 83.3% addressed attention to task performance issues, whereas only 66.7% of Spanish students showed interest in discussing personal matters (Figure 2).

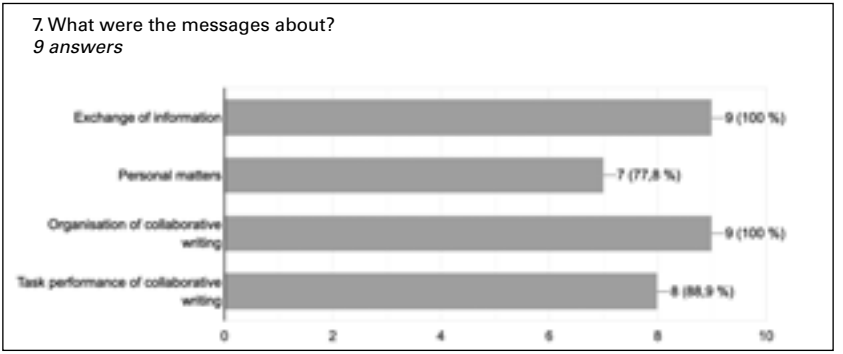

Figure 1. Topics of messages by Ukrainian students

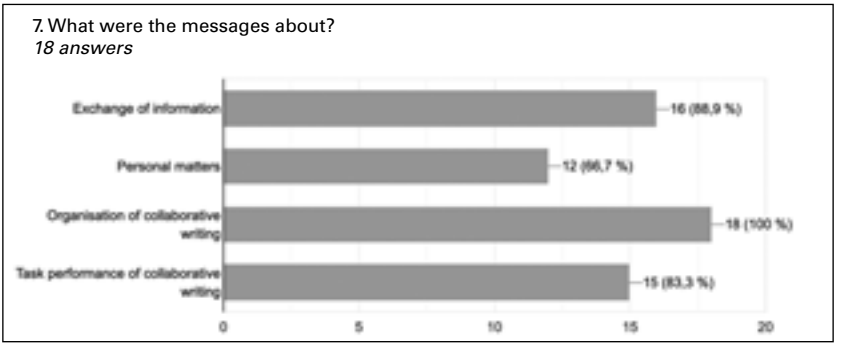

Figure 2. Topics of messages by Spanish students

These findings indicate that participants from both universities recalled having placed equal importance on the task-related discussion and collaborative writing, in particular. However, the Ukrainian students reported placing greater emphasis on information exchange and personal issues than their Spanish counterparts. This highlights the importance of addressing both professional and interpersonal aspects to foster collaboration in cultural contexts.

5.1. Students' Reported Effect of COIL on Language Learning in Interdisciplinary Settings

Based on the responses to the second questionnaire (Appendix 3), we found that students evaluated the COIL activities very highly: 78% of students gave the initiative a score of 5 out of 5 points, and 22% gave it 4 points (questions 8 and 10). Students claimed that the COIL activities carried out were successful and fruitful, prompting them to employ previously received knowledge and experience and to focus on new knowledge gained from reading and listening tasks. The Ukrainian students learned about the topic of corporate sustainability, which Spanish students were familiar with, but they were not. On the other hand, Spanish students learned about academic writing, a skill which was not new for the Ukrainian students. Therefore, interdisciplinary settings, in our case Business English and Academic English courses, created a fruitful environment where participants delved into business approaches and modern concerns to save the planet. The process of broadening their subject knowledge was not only undertaken through reading articles, but also through oral communication. The topic of corporate sustainability provided a context in which to receive and convey ideas in English (questions 9 and 11), according to the views of some Ukrainian students:

> I deepened my knowledge in this field, listened to different points of view and learned something new. [Uk_2]
> It was interesting to hear foreign students' opinions on corporate sustainability. [Uk_4]

The live classroom discussion motivated students to practise their speaking skills. Spanish students appreciated their partners' active participation during the discussion and valued the wish to sincerely express themselves on the topic, thus finding whether the points of view coincided, as some of their opinions reflect:

> It was interesting to hear the Ukrainian students and their opinions. Thanks to this discussion, I could learn about their opinion. [Sp_7]+
> I saw that many people think like me about corporate sustainability. Also, I saw that Ukrainian students participated every time, unlike us, and I liked that. [Sp_3]

It was also at this time when participants of COIL could check and practise their comprehension skills and learn that a different accent is not a barrier to understand

a speaker if the participants in the conversation can negotiate meaning by asking questions to check they have understood the message.

While performing COIL activities, participants completed exercises to learn new vocabulary and discourse and practised its usage by asking and answering questions in the discussion, which demonstrated the ability to use new vocabulary and discourse, along with the subject knowledge of the topic of corporate sustainability. More specifically, students explained in English the meaning of the term "sustainability" and its growing importance in the modern world. In the words of a Ukrainian student, the COIL classes equipped them with the background knowledge on the topic, gave them information about the researchers who carried out studies, and also further details about the main components of corporate sustainability:

> I have learned that corporate sustainability consists of 3 parts and that Adam Smith's economic theory does not require entrepreneurs to make positive social and environmental impact on the world. [Uk 7]

Students reported that reading the articles, watching the video, and later participating in the online discussion helped them to develop different language and cognitive skills (Appendix 3 - question 13). One of the main learning objectives of COIL was to encourage students to analyse and synthesise the information from texts and use the knowledge gained in their essays. Thus, students signified and conveyed in their essays the idea that entrepreneurs are concerned about corporate responsibility and the implementation of its main principles to make our world better.

According to the results of the questionnaire (Appendix 3 - questions 11 and 13), both Spanish and Ukrainian students indicated that they had opportunities to improve their academic writing skills by practising and using formal vocabulary easily, as they expressed:

> On an academic level, I think it has prepared us for future, because nowadays in most companies you have to be fluent, and you are going to have to interact with people from all over the world. [Sp 10]
> It has helped me to learn English and have new experiences communicating with new persons. [Sp_5]
> I have applied the essay writing requirements that we received during our English class. [Uk_3]
> The whole topic of corporate sustainability was new to me, so I learned quite a lot about it and at the same time practiced my academic English. [Uk_6]

Since English was the only language of their communication, students were provided with a rich opportunity to share their knowledge and develop fact-based arguments in English:

> I have learned to work with people who don't speak the same language as me. To do an opinion essay with another person only speaking English. [Sp_8]

As explained by the students, during their online conversations, cross-cultural pronunciation differences sometimes required some clarifications and at the same time forced them to rephrase and explain their ideas to avoid misunderstanding. That is why the communication was natural and effective. What is more, in both groups there were students who considered themselves introverts and for whom speaking up in the classroom setting was a common source of tension. For these subjects participating in COIL was a way of facing these challenges, and they overcame communicative difficulties (question 13).

> It helps us to get loose and it helps us to lose the embarrassment of talking to people who don't speak our language. [Sp_12]
> Any communications with English speakers give you lots of skills. It is a great opportunity to get out of comfort zone. [Uk_8]

All in all, students reported having learned about both the language and a relevant topic for society such as corporate sustainability. They acknowledged the benefits of collaborative writing and also those of speaking in English as a lingua franca with other students.

5.2. Additional Student-Reported Benefits of COIL

Students acknowledged that by performing language-learning tasks, their soft skills, which are of great importance in the modern workplace, had been boosted (questions 11 and 13 in Appendix 3). In their answers to these questions, both Spanish and Ukrainian students highlighted an important benefit of COIL: the opportunity to work as a team, as the task required them to collaborate and produce an outcome from their joint work — an informed opinion essay. Similarly, students acknowledged the difficulties they had faced and how they had learned time management skills, while arranging online meetings with a partner, making plans and setting deadlines.

Then, some more soft skills they seem to have acquired are adaptability and problem-solving, as can be gathered from their answers to question 13. Being in different countries, having time differences and facing problems related to internet connectivity and electricity, the students quickly adapted their timetables and coped with the challenges they were faced with:

> I learned that even tasks which seem impossible can be completed in time. [Uk_9]

The necessity to activate communication skills helped them to broaden their knowledge about cultural aspects of both countries, Ukraine and Spain, everyday lifestyle and the current state of life and business, as they acknowledged in their answers to question 12.

Analysing the feedback, we can state that, after finishing COIL activities, participants of both universities seem to have become more cross-culturally competent inasmuch as they have learned the characteristics of people in the other country. Spanish students considered Ukrainian students brave, strong, very intelligent and hard-working. Spanish students also mentioned that Ukrainians put much effort to continue their studies in spite of the war in their country, with the circumstances they must overcome every day and the suffering involved:

> I didn't have any specific ideas about how Ukrainian people were, but now I think that they are very motivated and hard-working. Feeling this through the experience was really motivating for me also. [Sp 15]
> I think they are having a very bad time, and it is a situation, I would not wish to anyone. Despite this, they are very predisposed and kind people. In addition, they are very friendly for the situation in which they find themselves. I don't think I would take it so well. [Sp 12]

Then, they noticed that, though Ukrainian students majored in languages, they could also show some competence to discuss business issues. Likewise, Ukrainian students defined their Spanish peers as kind, friendly, sociable, open-minded, easy to work with and they made a positive impression for being punctual and respectful of deadlines:

> Spanish students turned to be very open-minded, sociable, and easy to work with. After this project I was left with a nice impression of Spanish culture and people. [Uk 5]
> As for me, it was very interesting to communicate with Spanish students. During the online meeting, it was interesting to observe how they communicate, how they behave, what emotional state they have. [Uk1]

In addition, COIL aroused self-awareness. Students seem to have understood the importance of appreciating and valuing their everyday life, and that the best way to receive true information is by engaging with witnesses:

> After this experience I realised that they are struggling much more with the Ukrainian war than of what it is shown on TV. Despite of this, I think that all of them wanted to work with us and were motivated, so for me it is very appreciated. [Sp 2]

The students' answers reveal how they have developed intercultural competence by learning about how their counterparts in the other country behave. All participants reported in the anonymous questionnaire that they had a positive and invaluable experience of collaboration with students from another country.

6. Conclusion

This paper studies COIL, an educational approach that connected university students from two countries to collaborate in asynchronous and synchronous

formats during four weeks. A final product of the initiative was a collaborative academic opinion essay conducted by students of the UJI in Spain and KNU in Ukraine.

The objective of this research was to find out if students perceived that COIL could make them aware of cross-cultural communication and its advantages for learning language, content and culture. In order to reach this objective, the study tried to unveil, on the one hand, students' attitudes regarding the way COIL can affect English language learning, especially in interdisciplinary settings, as the Spanish students belonged to an ESP course, while the Ukrainian students were studying Linguistics. On the other hand, the research study sought to depict additional benefits of COIL for global education recognised by students.

The implementation of COIL in these two universities proved that it can be an extension of classroom learning and teaching in a virtual setting where collaborative learning and peer guidance prevail. This study enabled active learning and a constructive process in which the instructors' influence on task performance was limited to setting the goals, forming groups and choosing learning materials, while participants sought ways to perform the task successfully.

Answering the first research question, students reported that the COIL approach helped them to create multicultural learning environments and to apply English to support communication in the virtual classroom. Live discussions and having English as the only language to interact with their partners seem to have compensated for artificial language learning and created the environment to build content knowledge and individual accountability in students.

The English language became the bridge to connect students from the two participating universities, countries and cultures. The relevant COIL activities seem to confirm their efficacy in times of uncertainty, as in some cases participants successfully maintained their collaboration asynchronously through texting despite power outages in Ukraine. Students perceived that performing the tasks had allowed them to improve their academic oral skills in the discussion sessions and meetings, their reading skills by reading two scientific articles, and their writing skills through the collaborative writing of an opinion essay which involved text structuring, citation and referencing. As noted by the participants through an anonymous questionnaire, COIL activities seem to have upgraded both their oral and written English language skills. In addition, these activities were effective in making them aware of their different English language levels, accents and use of English, and made them realise the importance of learning in authentic situations in which English is the only lingua franca for communication. In addition, for most students, the COIL experience was the first occasion they had to establish a relationship exclusively through the English language, and they

gained self-confidence in its use, as previously noted by other researchers (Çiftçi and Savaş 2018; Nguyen et al. 2024). Moreover, this activity seemed to motivate students to learn new vocabulary and discourse to be active participants in discussions and in studying the interdisciplinary content, in this case, corporate sustainability.

As for the answer to the second research question, the results show that participants felt they had developed soft skills such as the ability to collaborate. Collaborative writing made them organise themselves to complete pairwork with students from a geographically remote setting in order to create a single document, a very useful skill nowadays. In the business world, organisation and negotiation are essential and the perceptions gathered from students by means of a post-task questionnaire showed that COIL could develop these skills. Majoring in different disciplines (Linguistics and Business), the participants had different types of subject knowledge and they were required to help and complement each other, which developed tolerance and respect.

Another valuable outcome of the COIL activities was that they contributed to developing cross-cultural competence. Students learned about another culture by meeting students who were almost their same age. They appreciated the opportunity to meet each other and eventually some of them might continue their relationship.

Finally, using online tools in a creative way can be motivating for students. Most of them appreciated the activity of writing an academic essay collaboratively, in spite of the fact that, especially for the Ukrainian students, due to the war situation it was not an easy task to keep in contact with the Spanish students and carry out the activity.

Although sharing war experiences was not one of the aims of the activity, some students held conversations about it. For Spanish students, it was a way to learn first-hand from their fellow students what it means to live in the middle of a war and maybe to avoid conflicts in the future, if ever they are in a position to do so. For the Ukrainian students, it was a way to share their situation and to raise awareness of the problems they have. In the case of the Ukrainian students, COIL acted as a substitute for physical mobility, something that is not possible at the moment due to ongoing war in the country and economic downturn.

This study shows some limitations. It involved the attitudes and perceptions of students regarding one COIL activity held in a single subject. In the future, it would be very interesting to conduct further research in order to compare students' perceptions with their actual improvement in English language competence and in intercultural communication skills. In addition, it would also be relevant to analyse the effect of a continuous plan of COIL in these courses,

how effective it could be for language, content and the development of intercultural communication.

To conclude, as other researchers have done before (Çiftçi and Savaş 2018; Nguyen et al. 2024), we want to invite other English as a Foreign Language and English for Specific Purposes instructors to introduce COIL activities in their courses to allow their students to enjoy an international intercultural experience using English as a lingua franca. It may be especially relevant and motivating for those who cannot travel due to their personal circumstances, or restrictions imposed in times war, as was the case in this research.

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Appendix 1.

Initial Questionnaire: Building Rapport with your Partner

1. Student's name.
2. What is the name of your university?
3. When was your university founded?
4. What does its name mean?
5. How many students / departments are there at your university?
6. What do you study?
7. Why did you decide to major in Business Administration and Law/Linguistics? What are the benefits and drawbacks of your specialization?
8. Tell me about some of the courses you are taking. Which is your favorite?
9. How long have you been studying English?
10. Do you prefer to work independently or as part of a team?
11. Have you ever missed a deadline? Why, and what was the outcome?
12. What are your interests and hobbies?
13. Where do you see yourself in 3 years?
14. What are your favorite national holidays?
15. What is your favorite national dish?
16. Any other questions

Appendix 2.

Guidelines for the Collaborative Writing Task

COLLABORATIVE WRITING TASK: CORPORATE SUSTAINABILITY

Directions

The following assignment requires you to use information from two sources (see a list of references below) to discuss concerns that relate to a specific issue. When paraphrasing or quoting from the sources, cite each source used by referring to the author's last name and the year of publication, and page, if you quote. Try to paraphrase, summarise, or synthesise the ideas of other authors.

Assignment:

Read the selected articles carefully and then write an essay in which you identify the most important concerns regarding the issue and explain why they are vital. Your text must draw on information from several sources. In addition, you may draw on your own experiences, observations, or readings. Be sure to CITE sources whether you are paraphrasing or directly quoting.

Appendix 3.

Final Questionnaire. Assessment of Collaborative Work

The anonymous answers to these questions will be used for research purposes and to improve the international collaborative task you have carried out. Please tick if you agree that these data are used for research.

I agree

1. Has this been your first communication experience with somebody with whom you can only speak in English?*
   - Yes
   - No
2. Is this your first academic international telecollaboration experience?*
   - Yes
   - No
3. How did you communicate with your partner?*
   - Online video meetings
   - Email
   - Texting
   - Other:
4. How many online meetings did you have with your Ukrainian/Spanish partner?*
   - One
   - Two
   - Three
   - Other:
5. How many email exchanges did you have?*
   - One
   - Two
   - Three
   - Other:
6. How many texting exchanges?*
   - One
   - Two
   - Three
   - Other:
7. What were the messages about?*
   - Exchange of information
   - Personal matters
   - Organisation of collaborative writing
   - Task performance of collaborative writing
   - Other:
8. How much did you like the discussion held on Corporate Sustainability on the 14th of November?*
   - Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much
9. Did you learn something new from this Discussion? What?*

10. How did you like the collaborative writing task on Corporate Sustainability?*
    Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much
11. What did you learn from this task?*
12. How has your idea about Ukraine and the people who live there changed after this experience? *
13. Reflect on the whole telecollaboration experience: personally, methodologically, content knowledge, etc.*

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR ANSWERS

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THE MEDARCHY: MEDICAL DISCIPLINE AND THE PANOPTICON IN *CADUCEUS WILD*

LA MEDARQUÍA: DISCIPLINA MÉDICA Y EL PANÓPTICO EN *CADUCEUS WILD*

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Abstract

This article explores the paradoxical nature of biopower when social, political and economic interests clash with individuality and autonomy. Special emphasis is placed on the Foucauldian concept of the panopticon to examine the mechanisms of (self-) surveillance as the most effective instruments of social control. Taking the recent pandemic as the starting point for critical reflection, this article raises questions about the purview of biopower through the analysis of the speculative novel *Caduceus Wild*, published in 1959 by Ward Moore with Robert Bradford. This analysis first focuses on the panopticon as the main instrument of discipline to contain the global health crisis provoked by the coronavirus. Secondly, it examines the particularities of healthcare dystopias. Finally, it explores the potential of the discourses of biopower to transform the institutional authority of medicine acting in the name of public health into an oppressive system of social control by adopting the form of a totalitarian medical regime, as described in the fictional world imagined by Moore and Bradford.

Keywords: medicine, Panopticon, power, speculative fiction, discipline.

Resumen

El presente artículo explora la naturaleza paradójica del biopoder cuando los intereses sociales, políticos y económicos entran en conflicto con la individualidad

y la autonomía. Se presta especial atención al concepto foucaultiano del panóptico para contemplar los mecanismos de (auto)supervisión como los instrumentos más efectivos de control social. Tomando la reciente pandemia como punto de partida para una reflexión crítica, este estudio plantea cuestiones sobre los límites y jurisdicción del biopoder mediante el análisis de la novela especulativa *Caduceus Wild*, publicada en 1959 por Ward Moore junto con Robert Bradford. El presente análisis se centra, en primer lugar, en el panóptico como el instrumento disciplinario más importante para atajar la crisis de salud global provocada por el coronavirus. En segundo lugar, se examinan las particularidades del género de distopía sanitaria. Finalmente, se explora el potencial de los discursos del biopoder para transformar la autoridad institucional de la medicina para actuar en nombre de la salud pública en un sistema opresivo de control social que adopta la forma de un régimen médico totalitario, como el descrito en el mundo ficticio imaginado por Moore y Bradford.

Palabras clave: medicina, panóptico, poder, ficción especulativa, disciplina.

1. Introduction: Discipline and Illness

Amidst the unprecedented global crisis posed by the COVID-19 pandemic, governments worldwide took urgent action to protect their citizens and responded with homogenous security policies, ranging from lockdowns and travel restrictions to vaccination and testing campaigns (Holst and van de Pas 2023). Yet this consensus reaction was not purely political, but rather guided by a single voice, that is, the voice of the "biomedical empire", as Barbara Katz Rothman puts it (2021: 2). During this public health catastrophe, medicine reinforced its status as an institution of power, influencing societal norms and behaviours. The new health policies, albeit urgent and necessary, cannot be considered neutral or exceptional protocols. This conflation of medicine and control seems to invoke the Foucauldian concept of biopower, which extends beyond hospitals to target individual bodies and the general population (Foucault 1978: 139). As this public health catastrophe proved, the implementation of biopower is intimately linked to the principle of panopticism, which sees constant surveillance as a characteristic of modern societies aiming to incite individual or collective self-discipline. The concept of the panopticon is not new. Yet in the face of modern health crises, of which COVID-19 is one in a series of such catastrophic diseases that include malaria, Ebola or mpox, it is necessary to explore the implications of the control and regulation of everyday life by biopower. This authority exerts control over fundamental aspects of human life —including birth, fertility and death— and is manifested in various policies and regulations, like the legalisation of abortion and euthanasia or the implementation of one-child policies.

Oscillating between the enforcement of authority and the intention to protect the citizenry, the ambivalence of biopower has inspired the creation of fictional worlds where medicine becomes systematic to the point in which it adopts a dystopic tenor. The nature of the control performed by biopower becomes even more complicated when we consider literary expressions that provide a critical perspective to explore the power relationships and factors that regulate societies and individuals. Representations of biopolitics and the panopticon in speculative and science fiction include works like Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale* (1998) and *The Heart Goes Last* (2015), Kazuo Ishiguro's *Never Let Me Go* (2005), or Ninni Holmqvist's *The Unit* (2008), among others. However, a lesser known novel that imagines a world under an explicit medical totalitarianism needs to be considered for critical examination to understand the relationship between biopower, the panopticon and health. Although lacking the literary quality of mainstream speculative literature, *Caduceus Wild*, first published in 1959, offers a space to investigate the discipline and normalisation exercised by medicine as an institution of power. This article therefore aims to establish a correlation between the meaning of medicine in both our (post-)pandemic reality and the fictional world of *Caduceus Wild*, addressing the mechanisms and discourses used by biomedical power to enact panoptic measures that restrict individuality and freedom. Considering the recent pandemic as the starting point for critical reflection, this analysis focuses firstly on the history of the panopticon as the main instrument of biopower; secondly, on the particularities of the speculative genre of healthcare dystopias and stories about medical totalitarianism; and finally, on the potential of the discourses of biopower to transform the institutional authority of medicine acting in the name of public health into an oppressive form of social control as Moore and Bradford depict in their novel. This critical analysis of *Caduceus Wild* aims to explore the onset of this fictional dystopic world controlled by medical power, paying special attention to the forces that constitute the panoptic system of control of the public body, as well as the counterforces that struggle to reclaim the individuality and autonomy of citizens.

2. Panopticism and Medicine

In *Discipline and Punish*, Michel Foucault abstracted the substance of the panopticon devised by Jeremy Bentham and used it as a metaphor of "a mechanism of power reduced to its ideal form" (1995: 205), that is, the disciplinary authority that governs modern societies. This utilitarian model was originally designed to instil a feeling of being under constant surveillance, even if such surveillance does not actually occur, encouraging self-discipline and self-regulation as a result of the

internalisation of the mechanisms of external control. Inspired by Bentham's work, Foucault adopted the principle of panopticism, which was especially relevant in the clinical context, explaining that the medical eye inherently has a ubiquitous power to control individuals: "The medical gaze is a controlling, dissecting gaze and it is made possible by an institution — the clinic" (Svenaeus 2000: 26-27). The birth of the clinic, in Foucault's historical archaeology, is intimately related to the transformation of the medical knowledge and the prioritisation of the gaze in clinical practice, allowing a new level of control of individuals and populations favoured by biopower, defined as the "power over life", which is articulated around "*the anatomo-politics of the human body*" and the "*biopolitics of the population*" (1978: 139, emphasis in the original). In other words, biopower demands the "precise control and comprehensive regulations" of both the individual body and the population (1978: 137). Historically, the emergence of biopower coincided with "the multiplication —and expansion— of the human sciences, which are made to serve as the legitimating discourses of this new form of power" (Cisney and Morar 2015: 4). Biomedical sciences have been particularly pivotal in the articulation of biopower in the individual and collective regulations and normalisations.

Irving Kenneth Zola noted the increasing consolidation of modern medicine as an institution of social control achieved by "'medicalizing' much of daily living, by making medicine and the labels 'healthy' and 'ill' relevant to an ever increasing part of human existence" (1976: 210). In this context, Marshall Marinker's article "Why Make People Patients?" is relevant to the discussion about medical authority, revealing the opposition between personhood and patienthood and the implication that "patients are created by doctors" (1975: 81). The doctor's ability to create patients also indicates that diseases are creations of the medical practice, or, as Foucault states, "fabricated" by medical discourse: "The sign [symptom] […] assumes shape and value only within the questions posed by medical investigation. There is nothing, therefore, to prevent it being solicited and almost fabricated by medical investigation" (2003: 162). In a way, medicine has become a producer of healthy bodies, enabling individuals to adhere to the social and moral standards of well-being. As Zola also claims, the institutionalisation of medicine has become an instrument of transformation of social practices and attitudes: "Medicine has become an institution of social control and has led to increasing application of the labels 'health' and 'illness' to social problems, as well as to widening areas of everyday life" (1986: 213). The institution of medicine in fact imposes a disciplinary power over the body:

> Sickness is a threat to rationality, for it threatens social life and erodes self-control […]. Western medicine is thus directed towards controlling the body, keeping it

> from subsiding into the chaos and disorder threatened by illness and disease. (Lupton 2012: 24)

In the medical paradigm, the transformation of the ill subject into a patient involves the creation of the medicalised body, understanding medicalisation as any treatment or remedy, invasive or not, that entails prescriptive instruction by a health professional. However, medicalisation has been extended to several practices, even those that are not even pathological nor a threat to the social order.

By presenting itself as objective, rational and beneficial to the well-being of the population, the biopower embodied by the institution of medicine reinforces its own legitimacy. Biopower, in this sense, reflects the Foucauldian concept of power/knowledge, that is, the dynamic process of mutual legitimation, where knowledge is not simply used by power but is also the means through which power is exercised and maintained. According to Cisney and Morar, "No longer does power emphasize the law as the product of an arbitrary dictate of the sovereign", but rather "functions under a different type of rule, one located in the natural realm, a *norm*, legitimated by the sciences" (2015: 4, emphasis in the original). Medicine, in this sense, is regarded as a "repository of truth" (Zola 1976: 210), for it creates its own body of knowledge in order to justify its intervention in the way individuals approach their bodies, health and habits. Biopower is normally implicit and unobtrusive in everyday life, as it operates through norms, practices and institutions without overtly appearing as a form of control. Yet, during the COVID-19 health crisis, the biopower enacted by the medical institution implemented an explicit system of control over individual bodies through exceptional public health measures based on the surveillance of the general population.

As Danielle L. Couch, Priscilla Robinson and Paul A. Komesarof argue, the COVID-19 crisis precipitated the establishment of a *disciplinary regime* to ensure compliance with the restrictions by the implementation of new surveillance methods —namely smartphone apps— to improve "symptom tracking and contact tracing" (2020: 810), which, together with the law enforcement, aimed to protect the public order for the sake of public health. These surveillance measures were quickly internalised by the population, who started to show "self-disciplinary practices" like "handwashing, the maintenance of physical distance, new ways of in-person greeting, a sense of revulsion or danger associated with personal contact, mask-wearing and the protocols and good manners associated with Zoom meetings, virtual parties, and on-line professional conference", among many others (Couch et al. 2020: 812). This power to dictate the response to the global crisis was reinforced by the new knowledge continually produced by the biomedical sciences since the outbreak of the pandemic, as the main awareness-raising measure

among the general population was persistently spreading information about the particularities of the coronavirus, routes of infection, symptoms, recovery and self-isolation periods or the sequelae of the disease. The influence of biopower on individual and public behaviour proved the ubiquity of the gaze and control of institutions of power, including medicine. For that reason, this situation raises questions about the limits and extent of biopower not only in the scenario of a pandemic, but in everyday individual and collective life. Is it possible to imagine a world where biopower is the main form of power and medicine is the only institution of social control?

3. The Healthcare Dystopia

No pandemic or global health crisis, regardless of its severity, could ever precipitate a world governed exclusively by biopower. However, despite the improbability of this scenario, it is worth exploring the implementation of a disciplinary regime of social control based on this form of power, where the authority of the medical institution to act for the common good is regarded as unquestionable and supreme.

In speculative and science fiction, the subgenre of healthcare dystopias opens a space to question the limits of individual freedom, rights and privacy as the price for health. As in other dystopic stories, authors pessimistically imagine "the very worst of social alternatives" as a reflection of the current situation in the contemporary world (Baccolini and Moylan 2003: 6). Additionally, from a rhetorical perspective, as Rob McAlear explains, new critical dystopias rely on a "'fear appeal' in an attempt to persuade their readers of the necessity of intervention in the present to avoid the possible horrors of the future" (2010: 24). Most dystopias describe a disciplinary society where the body is under constant control and regulation, like Yevgeny Zamyatin's *We* (1924) or Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* (1932), which reflect "pronatalist and eugenic" concerns related to the mechanisms of biopower to exert such control in a more explicit or oblique way (Falcus 2020: 68). Health has been a major theme in dystopian literature, especially in those stories where health has been used as a means of societal control. Health dystopias, especially those that describe health dictatorships, provide new perspectives on the balance between public health and personal freedom. In this context, the concept of "healthism" —coined by Robert Crawford— gains importance, as it works "as dominant ideology, contributing to the protection of the social order from the examination, critique, and restructuring which would threaten those who benefit from the malaise, misery, and deaths of others" (1980: 369). This healthist scheme has a strong social component, since "like racism or sexism", it is based on "the idea that one's health is a measure of one's value"

(Welsh 2022: 12). Although the concept of healthism emphasises individual responsibility for one's health, it also encourages blaming individuals whose choices go against what is considered acceptable healthy behaviours according to medical and social expectations. From this viewpoint, the idea that subjects are empowered to decide over their own health is illusory.

Either by blaming individuals for their health-related "choices" or imposing prescriptive models of health, healthism shows that health can be used as a tool for social control. Healthism can lose its individualistic nature in situations like the COVID-19 pandemic, which illustrates how collective health can override individual choice. This is precisely the premise of *Corpus Delicti* (2009) by the German writer Juli Zeh —translated into English as *The Method*— the story of a totalitarian health dictatorship called "Methode" established in Germany in an unspecified future. In this fictional world, every aspect of citizens' bodily and private life is controlled, "from the regulation of fitness to the criminalisation of alcohol, caffeine, or tobacco consumption to the administration of a compulsory dating service based on immunological compatibility" (Smith-Prei 2012: 110). This novel portrays the interrelationship between the panopticon, medical authority, healthism and social control, that is, concepts that have been the object of critical inquiry in the last five decades. Healthcare dictatorship, albeit uncommon, is not a new topic in dystopian literature. Even before Foucault's panopticism, Zola's medicalisation or Crawford's healthism, a speculative novel written in the late 1950s questioned the social control exerted by medical power over individual bodies.

Written by Ward Moore with Robert Bradford and originally published in four instalments in *The Original Science Fiction Stories* magazine in 1959, *Caduceus Wild* redefined the concept of "Big Brother" conceived by George Orwell in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1949) by describing a totalitarian medical regime. Following the tradition of dystopic fiction that "opens *in media res* within the nightmarish society" (Baccolini and Moylan 2003: 5), *Caduceus Wild* is set in an alienating world governed by the "medarchy", described as the ruling of the "sane and healthful society where the doctor's prescription was the law" (Moore and Bradford 1959a: 6). The novel follows the story of three rebels, Cyrus (a fifty-year-old man), Victoria (a twenty-four-year-old woman) and Henry (Victoria's younger brother), who consider the medarchy an oppressive system and struggle to escape the U.S. for England, where falling ill or not conforming to the normative model of well-being is not a crime. Along their journey these characters face several obstacles imposed by the medical dictatorship that enforces constant control on citizens, who must carry their medical records with them at all times to prove their compliance with health edicts. The novel juxtaposes the law of the caduceus dictated by the medarchy and this group of "mallies", or maladjusted, a minority

committed to overturning this "cradle-to-grave regulation of a person's life, in the name of 'health'" (Moore and Bradford 1959a: 6). Thus, instead of a welfare state, the world described in *Caduceus Wild* is a "healthfare" state that prioritises health and well-being as a central aspect of governance. It is important to note, however, that the medarchy was not actually a political system:

> It [the medarchy] governed, but it was not government. The 86 States of the Pan-American Union were still sovereign. Legislators still enacted laws; policemen arrested, courts tried, jailers executed sentences. Only now there was something above the law, above the government, and aside from it. Laws were laws but medical regulations were paramount. (Moore and Bradford 1959c: 83)

The medarchy is institutionalised in "the Ama" (a term that goes unexplained in the novel, but which may stand for the American Medical Association (AMA), an institution founded in 1847), whose rulings govern not only life and death, but also more mundane affairs, such as approving marriage licenses or procreation.

It is important to note that *Caduceus Wild* was revised and re-published as a book by Moore in 1978. The original story and the novel should be considered two different texts. As Moore explains in the foreword to the book, given the new expectations about the future arising in the almost two decades since the publication of the initial story, "an effort has been made to build the new novel upon the ideological armature of the original, and to use, wherever possible, material conceived for the original work" (1978, Author's Note). Re-written after the publication of Foucault's *The Birth of the Clinic* in 1963, the novel may be interpreted as a response to the growing interest in exploring the societal concerns of its era regarding authority, power and the loss of autonomy, which historically coincided with the proliferation of the civil rights movements in the U.S. In medical and sociological contexts, Foucault's archaeological work also opened up a critical space for new discourses regarding medical knowledge and practice. Published in 1975, Ivan Illich's *Medical Nemesis* examines the limitations and legitimacy of medical practice, exploring "what happened socially and culturally to communities when their previous independence in matters of suffering and healing is transformed to dependence on the medical system" (Downing 2011: 53). The anti-psychiatry movement also gained prominence during the heyday of American counterculture in the 1960s for denouncing paternalistic medicine as a manifestation of patriarchal control, expressed through the medicalisation of non-medical aspects of life that have social origins or the imposition of psychiatric treatments against the patient's will (Gere 2017: 197). It seems that in Moore's second novel these fears and anxieties were decisive in recreating his nightmarish vision of a future ruled by an oppressive medical authority. In terms of the quality of its social critique, therefore, the novel may be considered more mature than the

original stories. Yet, although the differences between both texts call for a comparative study, the purpose of this analysis is to explore the genesis of the world initially imagined by this author, paying close attention to the agents and institutions that make up the panoptic system of this healthcare dystopia.

Since the original stories of *Caduceus Wild* predate the formulation of the concepts discussed in the first sections of this essay, an asynchronous interpretation will be presented in order to engage critically with this text, for it can be considered a fictional precursor to the critical discourses that emerged in the subsequent decades, proving the prescience of speculative fiction. Therefore, instead of focusing on the critical and theoretical discourses that may have influenced *Caduceus Wild*, it is pertinent to contextualise the interpretation of this novel within the specific sociopolitical situation in which it was written. The implicit reference to the American Medical Association reflects the power wielded by the institution during the 1940s and 1950s to suppress "those who questioned American medicine's status quo", as these decades saw the rise of activism among medical students defending a nationwide system of government-funded health insurance as well as demands for training on the socioeconomic dimensions of medical care (Chowkwanyun 2019: 127). During the period, the AMA was the most influential institution in national health politics, a situation that is mirrored in the world of *Caduceus Wild*. This health dystopia exemplifies the dangers of weaponising health by paradoxically creating a universal healthcare system in which all citizens become patients with no power, but the obligation to comply with the prescriptions of the State, represented in the centralised control of the Ama. This universalisation involves the homogenisation of the population and the creation of a discriminatory system that punishes those who do not fit the normative (physical and ideological) model of health. The dystopian tone of the novel establishes a correlation between reality and a hypothetical dictatorial future, using fear to warn about the importance of resistance and change. Unlike *Corpus Delicti*, which initially presents the "Methode" in a utopic light as a benevolent dictatorship but is later contested by the main character driven by an opposing utopian "impulse for corporeal freedom" (Smith-Prei 2012: 114), the "ideal" society created by the medarchy in *Caduceus Wild* is seen as unequivocally oppressive by the main characters. Nonetheless, it is necessary to emphasise that both dystopic and utopic stories work under the same principle, as both imagine "a future space within the text in an attempt to negate the status quo and open critique" (McAlear 2010: 32). The three protagonists of *Caduceus Wild* offer a counter-narrative that challenges the status quo of the contemporary reality of the text, representing the struggle to resist authoritarianism and reclaim freedom and autonomy. However, as will be seen in the following section, this confrontation is only discursive, for the main characters do not bring about change in the society they want to escape.

4. The Rule of the Caduceus

The medarchy, as the expression of biopower, emerged out of the consolidation of the sciences, which favoured the transformation of medicine from a "healing art" into a discipline with unlimited potential:

> 'Science' in upper case, 'The Age Of', pulling medicine to its pinnacle. If science could invent a breechloading rifle to kill a man a mile away, the Science could save his life. If Science could wipe out whole cities, it established a right to rule those spared. The doctor could perform a caesarean section and rip MacDuff untimely from his mother's womb; didn't this give him authority to prescribe which wombs should bear, and whose seed was unfit for procreation? (Moore and Bradford 1959a: 15-16)

Knowledge is the basis of the medarchy, as it served to legitimise the ubiquitous medical authority. This system thus points to a change in the paradigm of power, as Cyrus ponders: "*A few hundred years ago, all you needed was numbers or muskets. Now you needed knowledge. Lack of it keeps us under their* [the health professionals'] *thumbs. More than that, it makes it ever harder to convince Patients that the Ama could ever be wrong about anything*" (Moore and Bradford 1959a: 13, emphasis in the original). Under the rule of medicine, knowledge, rather than military force, becomes critical in shaping power. The control of knowledge therefore conveys the power to control everything else, for only medicine can determine what is accepted as truth. A branch of science based on the assumption that valid knowledge can only be acquired by means of empirical methods, medicine constructs the reality of disease, which is accepted as the only valid way to regard human experience, as Michael Bury argues: "Modern medicine's 'positive knowledge' about disease is merely the product of the power which the medical profession has to determine what is, and what is not, 'true' about disease" (2005: 20). This power/knowledge binomial sustains the myth of the infallibility of medicine that characterises modern medical culture, as the systems of knowledge of medicine and its operations of power are co-constructed and mutually legitimised. Additionally, the monopolisation of knowledge by the medical establishment reinforces the hierarchical nature of the doctor-patient relationship, as it is based on the intellectual superiority of the healthcare professional, as Cyrus suggests: "The philosophy of the Ama has only one: its subjects must be made and kept physically healthy, intellectually quiet […] and socially adjusted. We are here now because we've rejected those concepts" (Moore and Bradford 1959d: 93). Paternalism in clinical practice is expressed in the dominance of the doctor imposing therapeutic intervention over the patient, who is expected to be silent, passive and compliant, showing blind trust in the doctor's expertise. This fictional account manifests the essence of the culture of modern medicine, which circulates

not only in the hospital, but also in the social discourses of sickness, reinforcing the superiority of the doctor's knowledge over the patient's voice. Yet this dominance is enacted in acknowledgment of the good intentions of medicine: to cure the patient and restore health.

The nature of modern medicine reflects the foundation of the medarchy in *Caduceus Wild*, where the supremacy of this disciplinary regime was based "on the acquiescence of the Patients, on acquiescence based on the assumption that the Ama was purely benevolent — that those who opposed it were hurting themselves" (Moore and Bradford 1959a: 27). This statement reflects the essence of Marinker's intention when investigating why doctors make people patients since, as the author concluded, ill subjects transform themselves into patients to "establish a healing relationship with another [the doctor] who articulates society's willingness and capability to help" (1975: 84). Yet, a clarification is required here, for, although ill subjects voluntarily enter the medical paradigm and become patients, they do not always consent to becoming a passive and depersonalised object of the medical gaze and surveillance. In this sense, it is important to note that being ill is a mode of experience, while being a patient is the role assigned in a specific context. In this sense, the answer to Marinker's question about "why make people patients?" relies on the fact that the doctor's authority and knowledge are elicited by the patient's need for help to restore health. In fact, when describing the origins of the medarchy, Moore and Bradford picture a setting where only medicine could save humanity in the aftermath of a global disaster:

> Most people like to be doctored, to be told what to do and what not to do. Saves thinking. Like the army used to be. Remember, that's how the Medarchy happened in the first place: we begged them to take over when responsibility got too much for us, with all the radiation sickness and bacteriological warfare. (1959a: 41)

The passivity inherent to patienthood indicates that patients, in some way, are "expected to give up his or her jurisdiction of the body over to the doctor", who by means of their knowledge about diseases make decisions to cure and fix the diseased body, imposing diets, medication or new habits (Lupton 2012: 24). The priority of medicine, thus, is to restore health and well-being, two notions that are regarded strictly in biopsychosocial terms, as "something which could be *produced* by a fully developed technology in a perfect society" (Mordacci 1998: 28, emphasis in the original). In *Caduceus Wild* medicine is the enabler of that utopian society, as it acts as a technology aimed at improving health and producing healthy bodies. However, as the novel reflects, there is ambiguity regarding what constitutes the "good" pursued by medicine:

> only for the good of mankind, of course — only to make people healthier, happier, longer-lived. If in the process the doctor became an object of veneration […], no

> harm was done; patients recovered more quickly when they had perfect faith in the physician. So who took fright or even noticed when the kindly, overworked healer became priest and despot? (Moore and Bradford 1959a: 16)

In the disciplinary regime imposed by the medarchy, personal freedom and the role of the individual in facing illness is suppressed, proving the risks of reducing the experience of illness to a purely clinical event. The power of medicine to control the body is oriented to the production of medicalised bodies that are no longer perceived as a threat to social stability. Preventive and protective health behaviours, thus, are promoted by both medicine and society to encourage bodily control and surveillance. In *Caduceus Wild* these measures reflect not only the role of medicine in the conservation of health, but also the social and cultural models of corporeality, such as the prohibition of "all hair below the eyelashes as unsanitary", enforcing "the use of depilatories on the entire body" (Moore and Bradford 1959a: 30). The duty of the medarchy is to both force and help citizens accommodate to the norms of this utopian society also by using medicine to impose social control:

> Performing 'indicated' hysterectomies, sterilizations, abortions. Adjusting Patients to a society that may not be to their taste, conditions they might improve, handicaps they could overcome. Quieting the indignant with psycho-pharmacology and the outraged with electro-tranquilization. Forcing the dissident to testify against themselves with parapentathol. Killing those who have 'outlived their social usefulness', or suffer prolonged pain — or perhaps have maladies they are incompetent to diagnose. (Moore and Bradford 1959a: 37)

It is necessary to note that in this medical regime medical knowledge and power is restricted, despite the social expectations regarding the biomedical sciences as infallible and unambiguous. Yet, regardless of the extent of the social control medicine can exert, even in fiction, this form of power presents structural limits, for, despite modern medicine's pursuit of "technical-scientific approach to illness", the belief of unending progress and the promise of perfection is only a myth (Mordacci 1998: 28).

In *Caduceus Wild,* medicine promises health, but in exchange patients must accept control by medical rule. However, it is important to note that despite the dominance of the medical sciences over society, in the medarchy the medical profession seems to be decentralised, for the actual control of the population is exercised by different disciplinary agents:

> When the doctors took over, it was just because they were needed. But you can't run a society with just doctors and nurses and laboratories. You have to have discipline, if only to keep the Patients in line. Hence the orderlies. But the orderlies were no good for checking charts, spotting non-cooperative individuals, cranks. So we got the trained Medical Police. But what could MPs do about mallies who conspired,

> propagandized, actively resisted? Answer: the subcutes. (Moore and Bradford 1959a: 39)

The healthfare state depicted in the novel certainly retains the original connotations of the panopticon described by Bentham in the context of the penal institution, where disciplinary officers were responsible for the surveillance and control of prisoners. Thus, "those who become orderlies, MPs or subcutes — they'd have been cops or prison guards" (1959a: 38). The "orderlies" were the forces in charge of maintaining the social order by inspecting and identifying those suspected of non-compliance with medical laws. The Medical Police were agents identified by wearing a black pin with a caduceus. The term "subcute" is an acronym of "Surgical - Bactericidal - Custodial Technicians", described as "more dangerous than orderlies", for they act undercover agents of sorts, as they do not wear uniforms or pins, as their name suggests —probably referring to the medical term "subcutaneous"— meaning that they are beneath the surface of the medarchical system. With these representatives of the medarchy, the panopticon becomes tangible for the Citizen-Patient. As Cyrus notes, "[n]*ot caduceus, but the ophthalmoscope ought to be the ubiquitous symbol of the medarchy. Sees all, knows everything, peers into insides. Big Brother, MD*" (1959a: 8, emphasis in the original). The ophthalmoscope, however, does not solely represent the everywhereness of the clinical gaze, but also knowledge, control and the ability to see hidden truths.

Despite the parallelism with the penal panopticon mentioned above, the medical panopticon in *Caduceus Wild* has its own particularities. Unlike the penitentiary system, the medarchy is depicted as a form of dictatorship where the rights of patients were restricted, as their only obligation was to get well and remain healthy:

> Laws were laws, but the lawbreaker was no longer a criminal, able to hold some remnant of pride, to pay a debt to society by serving a sentence. Now he was just another maladjusted individual, protected by no legal presumption of innocence, but having testimony wrenched from him by a medical examiner whose opinion carried the ultimate weight with judges and juries, even in the face of old-fashioned evidence. (Moore and Bradford 1959c: 83)

The aim of the medarchy, thus, is to produce socially useful subjects. This approach echoes Talcott Parsons' structural-functionalist model of health developed in the 1950s. According to this model, illness is conceived as a social deviance in which subjects temporarily adopt the "sick role", a status that exempts them from social obligations and expectations regarding normal roles (Williams 2005: 124). The normative expectations related to the sick role are a form of social control, since ill subjects are forced to abandon their other roles in order to focus on the goal of re-establishing health. Following Varul's ideas, "substituting the multiplicity of everyday roles, the sick role bridges periods of incapability by establishing a single

role that enabled conformity within the deviance of illness" (2010: 76). In the medarchy, the adoption of the patient role, not as negotiated between the individual and society but as imposed by the medical establishment, ensures that subjects accommodate to the social expectations and behaviours as a preventive mechanism to maintain social stability. This necessarily involves the loss of individuality and autonomy of patients, tipping the scales in favour of public health over personal freedom. Additionally, in contrast to the sick role, which is only a transitory status before the restitution of normality, the patient role in *Caduceus Wild* is actually the representation of the Parsonian "health role", which is ongoing, for the healthy person is expected to be "adhering to a regime and deferring to competent authority for the definition of that regime" (Frank 1991: 208). From a contextual perspective, it is also important to remark that Parsons constructed the notion of the sick role upon the coalescence of the Calvinist and capitalist North American scheme of thought that emerged at the turn of the 21st century, which is also tangible in Moore and Bradford's novel. The characters live in a society where "youthfulness, activism, and independence" are the most valued attributes of citizenship (Turner 2001: 261). This model thus conjures an archetype of normality and health as the foundation of "the world of strength, the positive (valued) body, performance and production, the non-disabled, and young adults" (Wendell 1996: 40). Since the world is made bearing in mind an able-bodied, male, young subject, it can be said that deviations from health are certainly social constructions. In other words, it is society which produces maladjusted individuals. In the medarchy this is expressed in the pathologisation of behaviours considered as deviant. As Dr Tree, defender of the medarchy, explains to Cyrus, the Ama has the moral obligation to protect collective well-being by controlling and guiding every aspect of the individual's life:

> You can't afford to let the sentimentalist keep his deformed child, or grieve excessively over his poor old mother who ought to have been euthanized years ago, or worry himself into a breakdown over the possibility of being cuckolded — because every one of these 'private' concerns touches the general welfare somewhere. Suffering, discontent, maladjustment, can be spread as surely as typhoid or smallpox. And carriers must be isolated and cured. Or at least have his malady arrested. It's the only ultimately humane course. (Moore and Bradford 1959a: 69)

Patients are in a constant state of control, as the main task of the orderlies, subcutes and MPs is to identify, capture and cure the maladjusted, that is, "those who refused to adjust themselves to the sane and sanitary regimen of the medarchy" (Moore and Bradford 1959b: 62). The three main characters, Cyrus, Victoria and Henry, were part of the subgroup of mallies, who "could do little more than rebel, and try to convince the majority that the rule of caduceus wild robbed man of all dignity" (Moore and Bradford 1959b: 62). Yet, apart from the mallies, another

group named "mercifuls" are also targeted by the medarchy. The mercifuls were always "on the lookout for suffering people they could 'help'", as they believed that euthanasia was the only way to relieve some patients of their misery, a stance that they regarded as a way to oppose the Ama, but which in reality only reflected the acceptance of the actions of the medarchy by only "palliating it, instead of removing the cause" (Moore and Bradford 1959c: 102). The mercifuls, in a certain sense, consider that subjects can recover their dignity through death, seen as a way of escaping the disciplinary medical system. The mallies, in contrast, aimed to destroy the medarchy by not complying with its rules and prescriptions. Despite their ideological differences, however, if captured by the forces of order, both mercifuls and mallies were not jailed but "cured, robbed of their memories and individualities" (Moore and Bradford 1959a: 6). In this sense, like other forms of dictatorial regimes, the medarchy, by imposing a normative model of behaviour and health, has the power to depersonalise citizens:

> Angers, passions, ideals, hopes, determinations, fears. All urgency, all the inner burning, all caring wiped out by an impersonal current carried in an impersonal electrode manipulated by an impersonal technician employed by a benevolent and compassionate society. Because you were part of that society, and if you were diseased the entire body was afflicted. (Moore and Bradford 1959a: 26)

In this dystopic world, to be cured, necessarily involves being stripped of one's individuality, something not different from the situation undergone by patients in modern medical practices. The hierarchical relationship in the clinical setting provokes the anonymisation, or even the dehumanisation, of the patient, regarded not as a subject, but rather as a body needing treatment. As authors of the positivist medical discourse, doctors are able to establish a relationship of power with patients, which is clearly reflected in the symbolism in the clinical context noted by Erving Goffman in his essays on the medical practice in mental institutions: "First, you can certainly tell the players by the uniforms they wear, with varying insignia (some subtle, like in certain institutions the not wearing of a uniform) distinguishing the ranks. Patients, on the other hand, are, in all senses of the word, often stripped of their identity", which is hidden under a hospital gown (Zola 1986: 214). This dichotomy between the identifiable roles of the staff and the anonymised status of patients is mirrored in *Caduceus Wild*, where the agents of the Ama are recognised by their uniforms or their pinned caduceus, whose colours indicate their rank. Like in the reality of modern medical practice, this visual differentiation helps to identify the agents within the system, fostering a sense of order and hierarchy and reinforcing the subordination of the patient to medical power.

The medical panopticon in *Caduceus Wild* also reproduces the religious connotations of the original panopticon penitentiary. Bentham's surveillance

system was based on a "hierarchy of three stages" with "a secular simile of God, angels and man" (Evans 1971: 22). In the medarchy, the same hierarchical system is tangible, with medical professionals being considered demigods; the MPs, subcutes and orderlies as guardians (a title the mercifuls aimed to supplant by being "compassionate" to patients in suffering); and the patients as mortals needing guidance and salvation after a global catastrophe. In fact, the medarchy is grounded in the same principle of Bentham's ideation of the panopticon, defined as a "system that provides the basis for a rational order of things in a situation that, without such careful circumscriptions, was often rendered into a diabolical chaos by the irrationally disposed passions of men" (Evans 1971: 22). The mallies and their rebelliousness against the medical establishment, thus, were not considered "merely subversive — they were virtually blasphemous" (Moore and Bradford 1959a: 14). In the fictional world ruled by the Ama, the medarchy transcends the system of power to become the object of religious devotion with the foundation of the "Church of the Caduceus", a consequence of the idolisation of the medical profession by patients who "had been enamored of medicine as an ultimate end and implemented their worship by annoying doctors beyond normal expectation" (Moore and Bradford 1959a: 25). The transformation of this hierarchical social and political system into a theological system reflects the internalisation of the discipline or dogmas of the Ama in a fraction of the population, the self-proclaimed "Caduceans". Thus, "[w]ith spiritual strength added to the medarchy's material appeals, the healthfare state would be just about invincible" (Moore and Bradford 1959a: 25). The supreme object of worship for this congregation was the spiritual, immortal and unchanging figure of the "Great Physician", to whom Caduceans prayed. This veneration of the medical profession is clearly a projection of the imprint that religion has left on modern medical culture, for "Great Physician" is, in fact, a title popularly attributed to Jesus by Christians to praise his role as a healer of both physical and spiritual sickness. More recently, fictional religious discourses have been articulated around doctors, who are seen as the only providers of health and well-being. This sense of devotion is the subject of religious hymns about the myth of infallibility and unlimited knowledge of the medical practice: "*There is only one way,/ There is only one way/ To be healthy and happy:/ 'See the doctor', we say*" (Moore and Bradford 1959a: 48, emphasis in the original); "*Rock the surg'ry prescribed for me/ Heal me like the Great MD;/ Heal my bone and insides;/ All health in Medicine resides*" (Moore and Bradford 1959a: 49, emphasis in the original). These hymns also served to reinforce the indisputability of the power of the medarchy: "*When the charts are read up yonder, I'll be there;/ Vaccines, antitoxins, x-rays everywhere./ When my chart is read up yonder, let the Great Physician ponder./ I'll be healthy, I'll be happy*" (Moore and Bradford 1959a: 52, emphasis in the original). Additionally, these chants aimed to reflect the very

nature of the disciplinary power of the medical profession, whose actions were justified by their authority to act in the name of health: "*Shots will help me, this I know,/ Because the doctor tells me so;/ He is wise and kind and strong;/ He will cure me all life long.// Shots will help me,/ Checks will guard me,/ Pills will cure me —/ Doctor tells me so*" (Moore and Bradford 1959a: 65, emphasis in the original). *Caduceus Wild* highlights the connection between medicine and religion; even today the medical profession is believed to be a response to a "calling" like clergymen's vocation — or nuns' vocation in the case of nurses. Considering doctors as objects of worship, in this sense, may point to a change in the perception of medical practice, confronting the pragmatic vision of medicine as a purely mechanical or technical science and the belief that "medical treatment should entail a nearly mystical bond of healing accompanied by exalted human sentiments" (Osmond 1980: 555). Yet, in *Caduceus Wild*, the deification of doctors, the devotion for their workings and the reverence paid to their tools to heal are not contradictory or incompatible, as the hymns quoted above express. The idealisation and idolisation of the medical profession fuelled by the myth of infallibility seems to be based on the patient's blind trust or, as this novel suggests, *faith* in healers.

Contemplating these forms of social control and (self-)discipline that transcend the clinical space, the three main characters struggle to elude the rule of the caduceus in a world where the line between healing and control becomes ambiguous. The ending of the story, however, fails to encourage real social change in the real world, as the three main characters reclaim their freedom by fleeing the medarchical system rather than dismantling it. Yet, despite its straightforward plot, *Caduceus Wild* encourages readers to question the extent of surveillance necessary for societal well-being or the cost of enforcing biopower. This story invites readers to reflect on the balance between authority and individual agency, echoing Foucault's timeless theorisations about power dynamics. More importantly, this work of fiction questions the meaning of the role of the patient, traditionally regarded as a passive recipient of medical decisions. The determination of the main characters to reject this system by not trusting medicine blindly points to the importance of the re-humanisation of medical practice, which should regard patients as individuals rather than as sites of (social) control.

5. Conclusions: Speculative Realities

Caduceus Wild encourages readers to question the nature of biomedical authority by imagining a world where medical prescriptions are law. The counter-narrative presented by the main characters, particularly Cyrus, challenges the conceptualisation of medicine as a supreme science and the idealisation of the

medical profession, pointing to the potential dangers of a system governed by an unruly or wild —as the title of the novel suggests— medical power. As part of the dystopic genre, this speculative novel relies on the power of fear to encourage resistance to the status quo. Yet, although this fictional story portrays Moore's interpretation of the anxieties that dominated North American society in the late 1950s, the reading of this text in the post-pandemic era reveals that the essence of those tensions rooted in biopower are ever-present.

In this context, the genre of speculative fiction serves as an instrument to explore alternative realities where societal norms are subverted by characters who reveal the injustice and oppression exerted by power structures presented as normalised and beneficial. As seen in this critical analysis, Moore captures this collision between utopianism and dystopian resistance, two stances embodied, respectively, by the defenders of the medarchy as the ideal form of government, and the main characters who rebel against this system. Readers navigate the world of the medarchy through the eyes of three mallies who represent the disruption of order and stability in a society that fears individuality. This novel, in this regard, confirms the value of the dystopian genre, as the view of the rebellious main characters counterbalances the utopian reality presented as benign and inoffensive. Dystopia, as McAlear notes, "prevents Utopia from becoming totalitarian spatially", for it creates "the possibility of redescribing any system as fearful" (2010: 37). *Caduceus Wild* certainly accomplishes its dystopian purpose, situating a fictional utopian system in America, where dystopian resistances emerge within a totalitarian regime that transforms the mallies into marginalised insiders that threaten the dominant ideology. Despite its lack of popularity and influence in the literary and academic world, *Caduceus Wild* ignites a debate about the impact and limits of biopower, proving that dystopian fictions function as political allegories that forewarn of darker futures and call for action and agency.

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THE *MISE EN ABYME* IN *THE DROWNED WORLD* BY JAMES G. BALLARD

LA *MISE EN ABYME* EN *THE DROWNED WORLD* DE JAMES G. BALLARD

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Abstract

At the beginning of the 1960s, the New Wave of British science fiction sought to revitalise the genre by incorporating more contemporary themes (drugs, sex, criticism of consumerist society and the media) as well as new narrative and expressive formulas, with the aim of entering the mainstream. James G. Ballard was a forerunner of this trend thanks to a series of stories and experimental novels that embraced the worldviews of surrealism, situationism and nouveau roman. The *mise en abyme*, a recurring technique in this new body of work, was incorporated into the early novels by Ballard, a process which culminated with *The Drowned World*, in which the technique became highly complex. This article examines the three cases of *mise en abyme* in the novel, beginning with a theoretical discussion of this literary device, adding a certain Heideggerian approach related to the image of the world in art. The article then goes on to analyze in detail the paintings that operate as *mises en abyme* in the novel, classifying them and reflecting on their relationship with the work as a whole and the reader, as well as the significance in the renewing context of science fiction of the decade.

Keywords: Ballard, *mise en abyme*, *The Drowned World*, science fiction.

Resumen

A comienzos de los años sesenta, la *New Wave* de la ciencia ficción británica pretendió renovar el género incorporando nuevos temas acordes con la época (drogas, sexo, crítica a la sociedad de consumo y a los medios de comunicación) y nuevas fórmulas narrativas y expresivas con el objetivo de incorporarse a la literatura *mainstream*. James G. Ballard se situó a la cabeza de este movimiento con una serie de relatos y novelas experimentales que hacían suyos los postulados del surrealismo, el situacionismo y el *nouveau roman*. La *mise en abyme*, técnica recurrente en las nuevas narrativas, se incorporó a las primeras novelas ballardianas y especialmente a *The Drowned World*, en la que adquirió un alto grado de complejidad. Este artículo examina los tres casos de *mise en abyme* de esta novela, a partir de la discusión teórica sobre esta figura a la que se ha añadido un cierto enfoque heideggeriano relativo a la imagen del mundo en la obra artística. El artículo analiza pormenorizadamente las pinturas que operan como *mises en abyme* en la novela, las clasifica y reflexiona sobre su relación con el conjunto de la obra y frente al lector, así como su significación en el contexto renovador de la ciencia ficción de la década.

Palabras clave: Ballard, *mise en abyme*, *The Drowned World*, ciencia ficción.

1. Introduction

In the 1960s, the work of author James G. Ballard not only consolidated him as a writer of science fiction, but also, along with Michael Moorcock, a leading figure of the New Wave movement. New Wave writers such as these were committed to revitalising the genre, mainly through the magazine *New Worlds*. Moorcock and Ballard, accompanied by authors such as Brian Aldiss, John Brunner, Thomas M. Dish, Judith Merril and John Sladek, brought science fiction into the hedonistic and troubled atmosphere of the sixties, in which anxieties surrounding the Cold War, the Space Race, consumerism, psychedelic drugs, pop culture and sexual liberation were recurring themes. They regarded the era as acutely science-fictional, in which the future had become present, exciting and terrifying at the same time (Greenland 2012: 180-195). New Wave writers opted for an experimental style akin to postmodern fiction (McHale 2004: 59-72; Peregrina 2015) in reprising the avant-garde (Huyssen 2011: 10) and a desire to conflate elite and popular art, formalism and kitsch (Compagnon 1990: 112). In short, the movement espoused some of the hallmarks of the so-called second postmodernism: i) The affirmation, as values, of catastrophe, as non-programmed difference and nomadism, as an uncompromising voyage

through all territories, including the past, with no sense of the future; ii) A break with technological optimism; iii) The critique of the media; and iv) The blending of popular art with the modern tradition, without temporal, historical or hierarchical categories (Compagnon 1990: 163-166).

Between 1962 and 1966, Ballard published four novels[1] which, on the one hand, echoed post-war British dystopian and catastrophist sensibilities and, on the other, laid the foundations of a disturbing and Dionysian literary world of his own, which would reach its pinnacle in the following decade. First, these novels acted as an extension and counterpoint to the works of John Wyndham (Oramus 2016) in the context of Cold War paranoia —the natural or cosmic catastrophe as a transcript of the consequences of a nuclear conflict— and the crumbling of the British Empire (Hammond 2017: 50, 65, 116; and concerning Western civilisation in general, Oramus 2015). Second, Ballard's novels and short fiction of the 1960s are metaliterary exercises that critically update the genre from the aforementioned postmodern consciousness (Broderick 1995) that questions the being of the world, and in which disaster is a rhetorical resource that enables a vision of human nature with a characteristic ferocity that remains unsettling even today. In this way, catastrophe allows Ballard's passive and disoriented characters[2] to emerge from the inauthenticity, in the Heideggerian sense, of everyday life and embrace an existence marked by solitude, inner exploration and universal entropy as the axes of the recreation of the world[3]. Ballard forms what Fredric Jameson has called "an ideological myth of entropy, in which the historical collapse of the British empire is projected outwards, in an immense cosmic deceleration of the universe itself as well as its molecular components" (Jameson 2005: 321). Strangely, Jameson makes no reference in this analysis to inner space, an essential concept in Ballard's work of the time. For what is decisive in the Ballardian panorama brought about by disaster is not so much the allegorisation of the frustration of loss of empire as the savage liberation of inner space now fused with outer reality, opened up by catastrophe, in what amounts to a return to an Adamic world in which paradise and hell have lost their exclusive meaning. In this very personal way, Ballard enters the realm of thought which, in the second half of the twentieth century, makes disaster a dark, anti-Enlightenment epitome of modernity, where authenticity emerges in the post-catastrophic world, after the abolition of the past (Huyssen 2011: 53):

> Each one of those fantasies represents an arraignment of the finite, an attempt to dismantle the formal structure of time and space which the universe wraps around us at the moment we first achieve consciousness […] in the cataclysm story the science fiction writer joins Company with them [infant and madman], using his imagination to describe the infinite alternatives to reality which nature itself has proved incapable of inventing. The celebration of the possibilities of life is at the heart of science fiction. (Ballard 1997: 209)[4]

These differences from the preceding *disaster novels* were accompanied by a formal revolution that associated the New Wave with the historical avant-garde and the narrative techniques of the nouveau roman. According to Brian Aldiss, the connection between 1960s science fiction and the avant-garde was first forged when Penguin Books, following the idea of art editor Germano Facetti, launched a new collection of novels in the genre, using works by Max Ernst, Pablo Picasso, Roy Lewis, Yves Tanguy and Paul Klee, among others, to illustrate the covers (Aldiss 1973: 245-246).

Bearing these ideas in mind, in this paper I aim to address one of the most fruitful aspects of this convergence of sources in James G. Ballard's disaster novels: the *mise en abyme*. In adopting this technique, Ballard seemed to pursue the following objectives: i) To delve into the previously mentioned assumptions concerning the projection of the interior space onto fictional reality with surrealist painting; ii) To provide the story with a metafictional dimension that makes *The Drowned World* an acerbic commentary on the genre; and iii) To highlight the artificial and performative nature of catastrophe as a celebration of vital liberation that Ballard associates with science fiction. I hope to demonstrate that Ballard finds in the *mise en abyme* a subtle way of communicating with the reader by creating a metalepsis of discourse (Cohn 2012: 105-106) that allows the narrator to enter the diegetic world and break the illusion of reality (Genette 2004: 27). However, he does so tacitly by using surrealist paintings and without addressing the reader directly. Exposing the artificiality of diegesis, the Ballardian *mise en abyme* reveals the carnivalesque and liberating nature of catastrophe. In this way, the author breaks with both the pessimistic inclination of the genre and the conservative conception of the "cosy catastrophe", just as Aldiss describes John Wyndham's *Day of the Triffids* (Aldiss 1973: 335).

2. Abyss in the Inner Space: A Theoretical Overview

The extensive body of theory around the *mise en abyme* reveals the complexity of the figure and the difficulty of establishing its meaning in a way that clarifies all the ambiguities attached to the term since Gide's intuitive description at the end of the nineteenth century. Gide pointed to a figure by which the subject of the play was transposed on the scale of the characters, and served as its frame (Snow 2016: 18). Its relation to heraldry allows us to consider the *mise en abyme* as a kind of emblem, in the sense that it exposes the deeper meaning and purpose of the work in iconic form.[5] In this way, the *mise en abyme* creates an instantaneous symbolic alliance between a passage inserted in the text frame —in the case of literature, the one which concerns us here— and the whole, in which the passage

provides the image that allows the reader to reflect on the work. At the same time, it interrogates the characters as to the reality and circumstances in which they are located, hence, perhaps, its value in the field of postmodern writing and its ontological dimension, establishing a link between two universes belonging to different levels of reality: "*Mise-en-abyme*, wherever it occurs, disturbs the orderly hierarchy of ontological levels —worlds within worlds— in effect short-circuiting the ontological structure, and thus foregrounding it" (McHale 2004: 14).

Contrasting with the heraldic metaphor, in 1977 Lucien Dällenbach proposed the metaphor of the mirror, defining *mise en abyme* as "any internal mirror in which the whole of the story is reflected by simple, repeated or specious reduplication" (Dällenbach 1991: 49). The *mise en abyme*, as a reflection, brings together in condensed form the whole or part of the work, according to a broad criterion of similarity, with the resulting ontological effects. However, it also becomes an authorial commentary or note that reveals the work's theme or some significant aspect. In this sense, the *mise en abyme* is, in my opinion, a figure of thought that forms a *hyponoia*, or a re-reading of the main text or framework by the author. Since he is an instance that guarantees the anomalous nature of *mise en abyme* concerning the work as a whole. This intentional dimension makes it a peculiar kind of narrative metalepsis (Genette 1989: 288-289) in that it can be considered an interference in the diegetic world by the author in the form of an allegorical commentary addressed to the reader. Thus, if for the characters it can be an *exemplum* of their fictional reality (Bal 1978: 120), for author and reader it is an allegory that, given its specular nature, turns the frame text into another; because if the *mise en abyme* is an icon that reveals the immediate meaning of the work, this, conversely, becomes an allegory that encloses or unfolds the hidden meaning revealed by the *mise en abyme*. Jean Ricardou rightly wonders the following: if *mise en abyme* reveals certain major aspects of fiction of which it is part, would not it be so because the plot has been constituted at the referential level according to its demands? In this case, the *mise en abyme* would be the matrix, and the macro-history the *mise en périphérie* of a micro-discourse (Ricardou 1990: 65). In some cases, the unfolding may offer a counterpoint or contradict the framing narrative, to the point of establishing an ironic or paradoxical relationship with it (Ricardou 1990: 83-85) as a form of the specious *mise en abyme* suggested by Dällenbach. Snow relates the *mise en abyme antithétique* to the antimimetic tendencies of the nouveau roman, a movement to which Ricardou mostly refers in his examination of the figure (Snow 2016: 49-50).

A particularly fitting case of *mise en abyme* is produced through an artistic work, which exists in the empirical world and is inserted into the fictional text. This is the case of *The Drowned World* and its metaphorical use of surrealist paintings.

This is an intermedial phenomenon in which the figure is broken down into a symbolic ekphrasis that juxtaposes the world of the artwork and the framing literary work, and the real world of the author and reader. But this symbolic link elaborates on an anomalous circumstance: an object from the real world also exists in the fictional world and has in this world, in addition to its own aesthetic value, the function of reflecting the world of the work and commenting on it in the empirical world of the author and reader, which brings them back to the world of the work, which is presented under a new guise. The work of art inserted into the text operates as a quotation, that is, a statement that, divorced from its original context, is repeated in the new one, but no longer as a statement but as a sign (Compagnon 2020: 85), and imposes on it a recognizable symbolic reading that excludes or defers others. This was the subject of discussion between Bal and Dällenbach. Bal considered that Dällenbach appealed to an external consciousness that directed the reading and imposed an interpretation, which would be an allegory. In Iddo Dickmann's view, the intent is to avoid the substantialism of those who are obsessed with this notion and intend to find it everywhere, subordinating the text to its substances, applying prior categories of similarity between the reflection and the reflected (Dickmann 2019: 17-18). In my view, this is an essential feature of the *mise en abyme*, which elevates it above the common quotation. Even in the case of a partial *mise en abyme* affecting a certain aspect of the story as Tena Morillo (2019: 483) points out, the commentary it imposes affects the text as a whole. In this case, I find that the metaphors of the heraldic shield and the mirror give way to a new metaphor: that of the Moebius strip in which the inner reality of the work is transformed without breaking the continuity with the outer reality and, on its return, back into it.[6]

It seems obvious, on the other hand, that the fact that the object operating as a reflection of fictional reality is presented as an artistic work (Dällenbach 1991: 88) is sustained only because author and reader —not necessarily the characters— share an idea of artistic representation that goes beyond the ornamental dimension of the object. An idea of art as an event must be shared for such a specular function to be possible. In this manner, the aesthetic comprehension of the artistic work enables it to be transformed into an object of experience and, furthermore, into an expression of human life. This globalising extension of the image is based, as Heidegger points out, on the way the thing appears as a system before the spectator (Heidegger 1998: 63-90). The systematic conception of the image of the world turns the artistic *mise en abyme* into an epistemological model insofar as it conceives of the world in its totality as a reflection. Therefore, if the reader understands the epistemological value, concerning the work as a whole, of the artistic piece located in the fictional reality, it is because he understands that the being of the entity is found in representability (Heidegger 1998: 73), which

is examined by the inner eye of the subject and compared with the external reality (Rorty 2001: 50-51). In this sense, I explained above the enunciative nature of the artistic work. When the reader compares the relation between the reality of the work and the artistic image that operates as *mise en abyme*, they do essentially the same as when they compare the images printed on the retina and the entities whose models are these images. At the same time, understanding becomes a mirror and an inner eye; in the same way, the image placed in an abyss unfolds before the reader into a mirror of the fictitious reality and an eye that examines and judges it. Now, the aesthetic dimension of the duplicated work of art —the literary text and the piece inserted in it— adds value to this epistemological approach insofar as it makes it possible to establish the relationship between both realities in the iconicity or symbolic value of both representations, based not on the reliable reflection, but on analogy, contradiction or irony by a systematic apprehension that justifies the explanation of apparently incompatible things (Gadamer 2001: 164-165). I argue that it is the symbolic capacity of the object inserted in the work that allows the process of semantic overload of the reflex to which Dällenbach alludes, by virtue of which the object functions on two levels: that of the narrative, where it continues to signify, the same as any other utterance; and that of the reflex, where it enters as an element of a meta-signification thanks to which the narrative can take itself as a subject, reflecting the utterance itself, the enunciation or the code (1991: 57-59).

From the moment that the *mise en abyme* operates as an instrument linking the author to the reader, but is totally or partially alien to the characters, who lack the distance (because they are within the fiction) to understand its nature, it becomes an ironic parable of sorts, since fiction reveals its frames, and shows its otherness in the face of unfathomable reality:

> As a second sign, in fact, the *mise en abyme* not only brings out the signifying intentions of the first (the story that conveys it), but also makes it clear that this (not) is (but) sign and that it proclaims as such any trope, albeit with a vigour increased a hundredfold by its size: I am literature; I, and the story that contains me. (Dällenbach 1991: 74)

The work speaks to the reader, thus breaking its fictional isolation. But it is this same ironic potential that makes the turn from the epistemological to the ontological possible by questioning fictional reality through the symbolic erasure of the work of art which, inserted in fiction, crosses it until it reaches the reader; and, therefore, that of the world of reference, insofar as it questions, by reproducing it, the epistemological system of the image of the world in its dual function of eye and mirror. Yet this is not always the case: sometimes the *mise en abyme* does not produce this ontological anxiety in the reader, but rather can operate as an

instrument that reveals the fictionality of the work, showing its codes and artifices, thus reinforcing the ontological difference between the empirical world and the fictional world. Parabasis generates a distance, it does not suppress it. In these cases, the breaking of the boundary between fiction and the author's world has the aforementioned satirical anti-idealistic character that questions the scope of mimesis (Alter 1975: 3-4, 11).

3. Multiple Reflections of Disaster: The Setting in the Abyss in *The Drowned World*

Mise en abyme was incorporated into the rhetorical uses of the New Wave as a fundamental element of the commitment to style advocated by Moorcock and Ballard (Greenland 2012: 166), in the search for an entropic text, voluntarily disorganised, which eluded structural unity by resorting to diverse dialects and approaching cubism in the representation of a reality formed by the juxtaposition of multiple planes. The problem was posed as a search for rhetorical strategies to make this contemporary science-fictional reality plausible. The *mise en abyme*, with its disruptive character of narrative continuity, its ontological ambiguity, and, sometimes, its intermedial nature, became a privileged instrument in the shaping of a style that allowed the re-reading of the science-fictional tradition to be incorporated, fusing it with the exploration of new roots in surrealism and psychoanalysis.

In her study on surrealism in the work of James G. Ballard, Jeannette Baxter (2008) has explained in depth how the British author assimilated the ethos of surrealism from the Situationism of the 1950s and 1960s. From the former, he adopted not only the psychoanalytical dimension as a way of exploring inner space, but also its political aspect, seeking to destabilise and discomfort the reader through the proclamation of the death of affection and the exhibition of its Dionysian consequences of sex, violence and annihilation; and, finally, the recreation of dreamlike landscapes in the post-apocalyptic world of his works, often expressed through avant-garde techniques such as collage, with the dual influence of Paolozzi and Burroughs. From Situationism, he took the concept of *derivé*, which expressed the constant change in the landscape that harasses the subject and forces them to interact actively with the environment, transforming it.

These elements enabled him to develop a landscape technique that foregrounded tormented and allegorical spaces in his apathetic and solipsistic characters. Ballard constructs variants of works by William Shakespeare, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Joseph Conrad and William Golding, which serve as foundations on which to deploy a vision of space that is problematic in its relationship with time from which the science-fictional component of these novels is derived. Ballard's *disaster*

novels are representations of the same assumption: global catastrophe. This generates natural and psychic forces that are as terrible as they are liberating, affecting the categories of time and space, as well as that of the human being in the physical realization of his inner space.[7]

Each of these novels deals with a specific time and focal element:[8] *The Drowned World*, the past and water; *The Drought*, the future and sand; *The Crystal World*, the present and glass (Wilson 2017: 61). If *The Drowned World* proposes a natural involution that returns the world to the Palaeocene, in what is a radical alternative to the already exhausted theme of time travel in science fiction, *The Drought* presents a desert world that is also a journey to a desolate and hellish future; finally, *The Crystal World* recreates a world in which the present is eternally crystallised as a consequence of an ambiguous space disaster.

The *Drowned World* was published by Penguin in 1965, with a cover reproducing Yves Tanguy's *Le Palais aux Rochers*, which foreshadowed the content of the work: disaster breaks down the boundaries between the physical and psychic worlds, generating landscapes that are a projection of the characters' mental state. Thus, Chapter 5, "Descent into the Deep Time", analyses dreams as organic memories of millions of years (2008: 74), recovered in the regression that affects the world and human beings:

> Just as the distinction between the latent and the manifest of the dream had ceased to be valid, so had any division between the real and the superreal in the external world. Phantoms slid imperceptibly from nightmare to reality and back again, the terrestrial and physic landscapes were now indistinguishable, as they had been Hiroshima and Auschwitz, Golgota and Gomorrah. (Ballard 2008: 73-74)

The use of surrealist painting as a representative icon for the physical and mental landscapes of the novel is effected by the double parallelism between exterior and interior space, on the one hand, and between these landscapes and those of the bleakest historical catastrophes, which, in turn, refer to the settings of surrealist painting, on the other. For Jeanette Baxter, *The Drowned World* is Ballard's most pictorial novel, a collage of surrealist images that takes the form of a palimpsest of visual geographies, among which *Europe after the Rain* (2008: 17-27) is decisive. Although Max Ernst's painting is not quoted in the novel, the description of London after the waters that had turned it into a lagoon have been pumped out undoubtedly evokes its landscape. Indeed, the list of painters cited in the novel includes Delvaux, Ernst and an anonymous painter "of the school of Tintoretto". The two surrealist painters appear in Chapter 2, "The Coming of the Iguanas": Kerans, the protagonist, discovers in the house of Beatrice Dahl, a typically Ballardian female character, two paintings by Delvaux and Ernst hanging opposite each other:

> Over the mantelpiece was a huge painting by the early 20th-century Surrealist, Delvaux, in which ashen-faced women danced naked to the waits with dandified skeletons in tuxedos against a spectral bone-like landscape. On another wall one of Max Ernst's self-devouring phantasmagoric jungles screamed silently to itself, like the sump of some insane unconscious. (Ballard 2008: 29)

Baxter claims that Delvaux's painting is *The Worried City* of 1941 (2008: 32). However, although the painting is reminiscent of *The Worried City*, I believe it is nothing more than an invented combination of recurring motifs of the Belgian painter: skeletons, naked women and dreamlike landscapes. Baxter's painting does not depict skeletons in formal dress dancing with women but does include other important elements that Ballard would have mentioned, such as the presence of an enigmatic figure dressed in black in the center of the composition and naked men in various poses. Baxter interprets Beatrice Dahl's painting following the episode narrated in chapters 10-12 of the novel, to which it undoubtedly has a *mise en abyme* relationship. Nevertheless, he follows a reverse order in his reading: he does not recognise in the events the elements of the painting but rather completes the description of the painting with those elements. Consequently, he makes an *a fortiori* interpretation of the painting by placing not contemplated elements in it in order to complete the concordance with these events. Thus, in her reading of Chapter 11, she identifies the character in black in Delvaux's real painting with Strangman, the aviator and pirate who imposes himself on the rest of the characters from his appearance in Chapter 7.[9] Strangman is another Ballardian archetype that Dominika Oramus interprets to be a variant of Kurtz from *Heart of Darkness* (Oramus 2015: 196).[10] The skeleton in Ballard's painting is a reflection of Strangman, but Strangman is not the embodiment of the character in black in *The Worried City*. For the painting described by Ballard is neither *The Worried City* nor any other painting by Delvaux that I have been able to identify. It is a picture painted by the Delvaux of this fictional world, not the real one. The significance of the painting as a *mise en abyme* is revealed in chapters 11 and 12, entitled "The Ballad of Mistah Bones" and "The Feast of Skulls" in which Kerans is tortured on Strangman's orders in a mock-up of Delvaux's fictional painting. This is a prospective particularising fictional *mise en abyme* (Dällenbach 1991: 76, 78, 120): it anticipates later events as part of an isotopy resulting from an exercise of condensation and displacement similar to dream processes (Dällenbach 1991: 75).

The painting, also an unidentifiable work by Max Ernst and which hangs in Beatrice Dah's flat, represents the future. Baxter (2008: 34-35) explains that the painting proleptically foreshadows the end of the novel: the southern jungles to which Kerans heads at the end and where he will die. Only the landscape survives, although the imprint of the protagonist's unconscious, the *inner space*, will

remain imprinted on it. It is a generalising *mise en abyme* that expands the meaning of the context to a level it would not reach on its own (Dällenbach 1991: 76). Contemplating the painting yields a first level of recognition:

> For a few moments, Kerans stared quietly at the dim yellow annulus of Ernst's sun glowering through the exotic vegetation, a curious feeling of memory and recognition signaling through his brain [...] the image of the archaic sun burned against his mind, illuminating the fleeting shadows that darted fitfully through its profoundest depths. (Ballard 2008: 29)

This recognition, despite its psychoanalytic formulation, is rooted in the aesthetic experience of the work of art as an experience.[11] But its full meaning is achieved in the last chapter of the novel, "The Paradises of the Sun", when Kerans enters the jungle on his way south. The reader then realises that Ernst's painting explains not only the protagonist's mental confusion but also the landscape resulting from the catastrophe. The work of art becomes the link between the individual and the world. Kerans does not recall the painting in this chapter, because his commentary is not addressed to him, but to the reader. In Heideggerian terms, the *mise en abyme* of the painting reflects the totality of the world once the internal and external dimensions have been placed on equal footing: the reader identifies the world with its representation.

It is a generalising and metatextual *mise en abyme*, which broadens the semantic framework of the work and reveals its code, "since it makes intelligible the way the story works [...] without copying the text that fits it" (Dällenbach 1991: 120): it reveals how the novel is an expression of the projection of *inner space* in a post-apocalyptic scenery. The painting fulfills the condition of the metatextual *mise en abyme*: its elements must be assumed by the text indubitably so that the reflection can serve as instructions for use, "so that the text can fulfil its task: to redo, as in a mirror, what its symmetrical reverse did before: to take the work for what it wishes to be taken for" (122). For this same reason, the painting is also a transcendental *mise en abyme* or *mise en abyme* of the code because it creates it, finalises it, founds it, unifies it and fixes for it, *a priori*, the conditions of possibility (123).[12] Ernst's painting thus meets the conditions set out by Dällenbach (123) for this figure: i) It does not point to the original metaphysical reality but regards it as a fiction that, within the text, acts as an origin: the post-apocalyptic physical landscape is at the origin of the destroyed consciousness of the character with whom it is confused; ii) This substitutive fiction is always both cause and effect of the writing that actualises it. Thus, the painting of the sun and jungle points to the material realization of inner space, which is the feature of catastrophe that really interests Ballard in his disaster novels; and iii) Metaphor and writing correspond in such a way that metaphor is the sublimated double of writing: the

novel behaves as the narratively unfolded *mise en abyme*, and the latter, in turn, as the non-narrative concentration of the text. Both depend on how the text establishes its relation to truth and the concept of mimesis, a condition that is accredited by Ballard's relation to surrealism and the nouveau roman and his move away from realism as a way of renewing the discourse of science fiction.

Ballard believed he found in this procedure a valid formula for representing inner space in those years of strong surrealist and psychoanalytic influence. Therefore, in his next novel, *The Drought*, he repeated the exact same strategy. As in *The Drowned World*, in Chapter 2, "Mementoes", he introduces a painting that will serve as a transcendental *mise en abyme*, although on this occasion it is a real painting, the photograph of which decorates the protagonist's house, *Jours de lenteur* by Yves Tanguy, and of which the following is said: "With its smooth, pebble-like objects, drained of all associations, suspended on a washed tidal floor, this painting had helped to free him from the tiresome repetitions of everyday life. The rounded milky forms were isolated on their ocean bed like the houseboat on the exposed bank of the river" (Ballard 2012: 24). And, as in *The Drowned World*, the last chapter is titled like the painting, *Jours de lenteur*, in which the ending is similar: the death of the protagonist in a landscape that is both the realization of his inner world and the material projection of Tanguy's painting.

The third *mise en abyme* in *The Drowned World* lacks the transcendental scope of Ernst's painting, but is interesting for its complexity of meaning and the dynamism of its relationship to the fictional reality of chapters 10 to 12 of the novel. It is the painting *The Marriage of Esther and King Xerxes* that Strangman has on his boat. The painting appears in Chapter 10, "Surprise Party". Strangman invites Kerans and Beatrice to his ship. The plunderer has carefully prepared a party in a setting that plays out his desire. Among the treasures he has plundered is the aforementioned painting:

> Its title was *The Marriage of Esther and King Xerxes*, but the pagan treatment and the local background of the Venetian lagoon and the Grand Canal palazzos coupled with the Quinquecento décor and costume, made it seem more like *The Marriage of Neptune and Minerva*, no doubt the moral Strangman intended to point out. King Xerxes, a wily, beak-nosed elderly Doge or Venetian Grand-Admiral, already seemed completely tamed by his demure, raven-haired Esther, who had a faint but none the less perceptible likeness to Beatrice. As he cast his eyes over the crowded spread of the canvas with its hundreds of wedding guests, Kerans suddenly saw another familiar profile — the face of Strangman among the hard cruel smiles of the Council of the Ten [...] The marriage ceremony was being celebrated aboard a galleon moored against the Dogo's Palace, and its elaborate rococo rigging seemed to merge into the Steel hawsers and bracing lines of the depot ship. (Ballard 2008: 118)

Ballard superimposes the biblical and mythological scenes in his fictional painting, tacitly alluding to the annual festival of the Sensa, which celebrates the alliance between the Republic of Venice and the sea, describing the galleon in the painting in terms that unmistakably identify it with the Bucintoro, the Republic's gold-covered galley used in that celebration. Ballard's imagined painting shares features of Tintoretto's *Esther before Ahasuerus*, Tiepolo's *Neptune Offering Gifts to Venice* and Canaletto's *The Bucintoro*, as well as various invented motifs.

In this *mise en abyme*, the characters are aware that the painting reflects them. Kerans explains the meaning of the painting and Strangman corroborates his interpretation: Beatrice must pacify the waters, just as Esther must pacify the Persian emperor and Venice must pacify the sea. However, Beatrice refuses to play that role (2008: 118), causing *The Marriage of Esther and King Xerxes* to be revealed not as a frustrated *mise en abyme* but as a misinterpreted *mise en abyme* by the male characters: the reflection occurs, but it is deceitful. In the first instance, Beatrice/Minerva/Esther symbolically removes the waters, but it is all an illusion, not a *mise en abyme* but a *mise en scene* by Strangman, with the careful preparation of the set, the dinner and the surprise effect of the descent of the waters of the lagoon. For in the *trompe l'oeil* prepared by Strangman, the water level drops, not because of Beatrice's magical presence, but because he makes the water pump to the astonishment of his guests. The darkness of the night erases Xerxes/Neptune, the false motifs of the allegory in *abyme*, from the painting, leaving Esther/Minerva and the Venetian counselor/Strangman, the real actors in the drama invented by Strangman, illuminated. Now the *mise en abyme* is realised with the true reflection of the actors in the play, or so it seems. The fading diegetic light of dusk has revealed the true meaning of the painting with regard to the balance of power of the characters in this chapter: Xerxes/Neptune, who in the following chapter will be identified with Kerans, is obscured by his passivity, and Beatrice/Minerva/Esther and Strangman/Venetian counselor, the real characters in conflict, are illuminated against the shadowy background of the painting.

In the second instance, the painting will show the reader its deeper meaning. The title of the following chapter, "The Feast of Skulls", contains a new reference to Delvaux. However, it is the fake Venetian painting that takes on new and unpredictable value as a *mise en abyme*. If in Chapter 10 Ballard had used the change of light in the diegetic temporality to highlight the characters in the painting that interested him at the time (the counselor and Esther, as transcripts of Strangman and Beatrice), now he recomposes the image, staging the other motif evoked in the painting: the submission of Neptune. Strangman's men disguise Kerans as Neptune and torture him in a carnivalesque procession that parodies the sea

god's submission to a city that has been stolen from him: "almost as if he [Kerans] were an abducted Neptune forced against his will to sanctify those sections of the drowned city which had been stolen from him by Strangman and reclaimed" (2008: 140). He is finally left in the sun to die. His resistance instils fear in the pirates, who see him as an incarnation of the god. This is an intuition that points to the change experienced by Kerans in the process from apocalyptic catastrophe to the frustrated but symbolic sacrifice that will liberate the inner space and redeem him as a new man after the global disaster. After a series of vicissitudes, Kerans returns to Strangman's ship and hides behind the painting. The two realities seem to merge: Strangman's lieutenant sees him but believes him to be one of the figures in the painting. From here, he will emerge as a man of action. Later, in chapter 14, "Grand Slam", he will flood the city again, as the Neptune released out of the painting. In this way, the Venetian painting that superimposed two images, the real one —Esther/Jerxes— and the evoked one —Minerva/Neptune— is also the bearer of two meanings with respect to the novel-frame: Neptune's submission to Minerva/Beatrice, which responds to Strangman's mixtification, as betrayed by the evening light; and, ironically, the revenge of Neptune/Kerans who recovers the city for the waters, while resolving its state of prostration and passivity by pushing it toward its final decision.

4. Conclusion

The Drowned World contains three different examples of *mise en abyme* based on pictorial works either invented or left ambiguous by the author. Each corresponds to a different type of *mise en abyme*, that is, the particularising fictional, the transcendental metatextual and the generalising fictional. In the latter, which concerns the "painting of the school of Tintoretto", Ballard incorporates a series of dynamising elements that develop the iconic relationship between painting and fictional reality. The images unfold in a series of deformed reflections that in their multiplicity fragment the narrative, breaking down the invisible wall between the artistic work and the world that frames it. Regarding the particularising fictional, the painting represents a biblical scene but evokes a mythological one, which is, in turn, a symbol of a Venetian festival. This multiplication of meaning affects the characters represented in it, favoring an initial interpretation that is not the one that will later be shown to the reader: the association of Beatrice with Esther and Minerva; and the waters of the lagoon that have flooded London with those of Venice. However, the diegetic light illuminates a relevant aspect: Strangman's intervention, which is a crossover between fictional (the painting) and real elements in the fictional world (the evening light). This commentary is beyond

the comprehension of the characters. Secondly, the *mise en abyme* of the painting breaks the boundary with the real world of the novel, with a character, Kerans, who seems to enter and leave the painting, assuming the physical incarnation of Neptune, a figure evoked but not represented in it. Ballard aims to show a fictional world that folds in on itself, with few links to the empirical world: the pictures are fictional and their operability in the fictional world comes at the expense of their relationship with the world of reference. Finally, this structure must be seen in the context of the revival of science fiction in the 1960s and the acceptance of generalised instruments by the nouveau roman, in an effort to endow the genre with a literary status of high literature.

Notes

1. *The Wind of Nowhere* (1962), *The Drowned World* (1962), *The Drought* (1964) and *The Crystal World* (1966). During this period he also published the following collections of short stories: *The Voices of Time* (1962), *Passport to Eternity* (1963), *The Terminal Beach* (1964) and *The Impossible Man* (1966), as well as articles and reviews in various publications.

2. Brian Aldiss has pointed out how Ballard broke with both the heroes of the pulp and adventure novels in the vein of Joseph Conrad by opting for protagonists without initiative or hope (Aldiss 1976: 42-44).

3. Thus we read the end of *The Drowned World*: "So he left the lagoon and entered the jungle again, within a few days was completely lost, following the lagoons southward through the increasing rain and heat, attacked by alligators and giant bats, a second Adam searching for the forgotten paradises of the reborn sun" (Ballard 2008: 175).

4. The text is from the 1977 article "Cataclysms and Dooms".

5. I concur with Mieke Bal's description of the *mise en abyme* as a kind of icon insofar as it appears as a discrete whole within the work in which it is inserted and to which it points, constituting an interruption or a temporary change in the discourse (Bal 1978: 124).

6. In a similar vein, Dickmann speaks of Klein's bottle to refer to the mutability of narrative levels of *mise en abyme* (Dickmann 2019: 33).

7. This is how he puts it in the first chapter of *The Drowned World*: "Sometimes he wondered what zone of transit he himself was entering, certain that his own withdrawal was symptomatic not of a dormant schizophrenia, but of a careful preparation for a radically new environment, with its own internal landscape and logic, where old categories of thought would merely be an encumbrance" (Ballard 2008: 14).

8. I leave aside the early and not very satisfactory *The Wind of Nowhere*. Ballard would later disown it.

9. However, it is clear that Strangman, who always wears white, neither fits the character in *The Worried City*, nor is he a skeleton, as Ballard describes him and as he is metaphorically referred to in Chapter 11 ("Mistah Bones").

10. Surprisingly, Ballard stated in an interview with James Goddard and David Pringle that at the time of writing *The Drowned World* he had not yet read Conrad (Goddard and Pringle 1976: 16). On the other hand, the character of the aviator is a constant in Ballard's work, always representing a powerful and enigmatic presence that attracts

and disturbs the protagonist (this is the case in *The Atrocity Exhibition*, and in the stories "News from the Sun", "One afternoon at Utah Beach" and "Low-Flyng Aircraft"), an unfolded alter ego that from the late 1970s onwards often merges with the protagonist (see *The Unlimited Dream Company* and the stories "Notes toward a mental breakdown", "Myths of the Near Future", "Memories of the Space Age", "The object of the attack" and "The Man who walked on the Moon").

11. The work of James G. Ballard is rooted in psychoanalysis. Critics have explained the meaning of catastrophe through a Jungian lens in their first novels: "The Modern division of the conscious and unconscious is explicitly seen in terms of catastrophe, for a suppression of the unconscious means its return in distorted forms" (Luckhurst, 1997: 52). Regarding *The Drowned World*, the author would confess in a 1971 interview: "I wanted to look at our racial memory, our whole biological inheritance, the fact that we're all several hundred million years old, as old as the biological kingdoms in our spines, in our brains, in our cellular structure". It is interesting to note that this confidence in the memory of the species is also present in other New Wave novels, such as *Hothouse* (1962) by Brian Aldiss. On the other hand, it is true that Ballard resorts to what he calls "intertextual landscapes" to reinforce the meaning of the characters' actions by exploring the psychological meaning of their geographies (Luckhurst, 1997: 54). Now, in the case of the works of art that articulate the *mise en abyme* in these novels, this procedure is only possible due to the particular consideration of the work of art as an aesthetic experience. For a broader discussion of Jung's theories in *The Drowned World*, see Francis (2011: 68-77).

12. Mieke Bal notes that this category is a variant of the fictional *mise en abyme*: since the object, the origin, and the end of the text and its writing are located outside the text, this object can only be fictionalised, that is, replaced by a diegesis that symbolises it. This fictionalisation maintains a circular relationship with the object of the fictional *mise en abyme* (Bal 1978: 122). Ballard maintains this relationship between the painting and the conclusion of the novel: painting and landscapes correspond. However, the explanation of this correspondence is only partially exposed; and it is surely necessary to know Ballard's texts on inner space and its relation to surrealist painting in order to grasp the full meaning of the figure.

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HACIA LA CUBANIDAD A TRAVÉS DE LA SANTERÍA: INFLUENCIA DE LA NOSTALGIA COMO INSTRUMENTO MERCANTILIZADO EN LA PROTAGONISTA DE LA NOVELA *SOÑAR EN CUBANO* (1992)

TOWARDS CUBANNESS THROUGH SANTERIA: THE INFLUENCE OF NOSTALGIA AS A MARKETED TOOL IN THE PROTAGONIST OF THE NOVEL *DREAMING IN CUBAN* (1992)

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Resumen

Maya Socolovsky afirma que "la nación cubana en las novelas de García es un asunto altamente individualizado y personal" (Socolovsky 2013: 133, traducción mía).[1] Este estudio, sirviéndose de la descripción de nostalgia como método para "desarrollar, sostener y recrear la identidad de las personas" (Sierra y McQuitty 2007: 100, traducción mía),[2] entiende la santería como una práctica nostálgica, capaz de habilitar el reclamo de la identidad nacional (cubanidad). En este artículo se analiza un extracto de la novela de Cristina García, *Soñar en Cubano* (1992), centrándose en el uso de esta práctica como vehículo para que la protagonista, Pilar, genere una conexión tangible con su identidad y tradiciones cubanas, incluso a pesar del desarraigo físico que siente hacia su tierra natal. Finalmente, se pretende demostrar que, a través del poder transformador de los rituales y creencias de esta religión sincrética, Pilar reconecta con su identidad nacional y étnica, y, asimismo, con sus sentimientos de arraigo, que había intentado ignorar durante todos sus años como inmigrante latina en los Estados Unidos.

Palabras clave: literatura cubano-americana, ficción, nostalgia, santería, Cristina García.

Abstract

Maya Socolovsky asserts that "the Cuban nation in García's novels is a highly individualized and personal matter" (Socolovsky 2013: 133). This study, drawing on the description of nostalgia as a method "used to develop, sustain, and recreate individuals' identities" (Sierra and McQuitty 2007: 100), conceptualizes Santeria as a nostalgic practice that enables the assertion of national identity (Cubanness). This literary analysis of an excerpt from Cristina García's novel *Dreaming in Cuban* (1992) delves into Santeria's role as a conduit for the protagonist Pilar to forge a tangible connection with her Cuban identity and traditions, even amidst her physical displacement from her homeland. Ultimately, this article attempts to demonstrate that, through the transformative power of the rituals and beliefs of this syncretic religion, Pilar rediscovers a deep feeling of rootedness towards her national and ethnic identity, a feeling that had previously evaded her during all her years as a Latina immigrant in the United States.

Keywords: Cuban American literature, fiction, nostalgia, Santeria, Cristina García.

> Every day Cuba fades a little more inside me, my grandmother fades a little more inside me. And there's only my imagination where our history should be.
> Cristina García, *Dreaming in Cuban*
>
> *I certainly would have taken a moment to look out from the Malecón, to measure the emptiness from the rough shore to the horizon. I would have wanted the time to consider how many darkening butterfly lilies, how many revolutionary triumphs and drowned balseros it would take to fill the gap.*
> Achy Obejas, *Days of Awe*

1. Introducción: La huella nostálgica en la mayor de las Antillas y su impacto en la comunidad cubano-americana

La nostalgia siempre ha sido parte integral de la identidad cubana, un hilo que entreteje su historia desde que Cristóbal Colón pisara por primera vez la isla, declarándola "la tierra más hermosa que ojos humanos jamás hayan visto" (Colón 1959: 414). La novela de Cristina García *Soñar en Cubano* (1992), considerada por Philip Herter del *Tampa Bay Times* como "la historia definitiva de los exiliados cubanos" (Herter 1992, traducción mía),[3] retrata a Doña Inés de Bobadilla, primera gobernadora de Cuba, mirando perpetuamente hacia el mar con la mirada fija en el horizonte y esperando el regreso de su marido, Hernando de Soto, quien se había aventurado a conquistar Florida, para no volver jamás. El inicio de la

Revolución, el uno de enero de 1959, marcó el comienzo de un éxodo masivo de cubanos. Éxodo que ha sido un catalizador fundamental para el canon literario cubano-americano, como lo afirmó Alfred López: "hay literaturas cubano-americanas porque hay cubano-americanos" (1996: 203, traducción mía).[4] Según Ada Ferrer, "en la Cuba revolucionaria, la posibilidad de irse —o quedarse atrás— se convirtió en parte de la vida cotidiana" (2021: 401, traducción mía).[5]

Para los innumerables cubanos que salieron de la isla tras el triunfo de la Revolución en 1959, el término 'nostalgia', acuñado por un médico del siglo XVII que combinó las raíces griegas 'nostos' (regreso a casa) y 'algia' (dolor) para describir las formas extremas de añoranza que exhibían los mercenarios en servicio lejos de su hogar (Kandiyoti 2006: 82), adquirió una connotación distintiva. Siguiendo a John J. Su, un creciente número de críticos y académicos del ámbito cultural argumentan que la nostalgia es uno de los rasgos definitorios de la era de posguerra (Su 2005: 3) a nivel global. Svetlana Boym explora las complejidades de la nostalgia en *The Future of Nostalgia* (2001), y sugiere que el auge de la nostalgia en la política y la cultura desde la década de 1960 refleja no solo un anhelo por el pasado, sino también un impulso utópico. Su observación de que el siglo XX comenzó con una utopía futurista y terminó con nostalgia (Boym 2001: 12) refleja acertadamente la experiencia cubana durante la segunda mitad del siglo.

La definición de nostalgia que se sigue en este artículo fue acuñada por Sierra y McQuitty en 2007. La definen como "un anhelo del pasado, o un cariño por posesiones y actividades tangibles o intangibles vinculadas con el pasado" (Sierra y McQuitty 2007: 99, traducción mía).[6] Esta definición permite que "no solo productos tangibles, sino también actividades" (Ray & Mccain 2012: 978, traducción mía)[7] "señalen y refuercen la identidad personal de los consumidores" (Sierra y McQuitty 2007: 99, traducción mía).[8] En los últimos años ha ganado popularidad entre los académicos la corriente de pensamiento que sostiene que la compra de bienes materiales o la participación en prácticas culturales sociales pueden generar un cierto sentido de pertenencia a una identidad. Ya en el año 2000, Marilyn Halter sugirió que los consumidores buscaban conectar con sus identidades raciales o étnicas a través del consumo de productos. Este fenómeno fue clasificado por Arjun Appadurai como una especie de manufacturación del pasado. Además, bell hooks argumenta que esta nostalgia convertida en mercancía es una forma por la cual las comunidades marginadas se protegen de la cultura blanca dominante (hooks 2014: 21). El panorama social contemporáneo revela que esta teoría ha trascendido el ámbito del discurso teórico y se ha materializado en una realidad tangible.

Una prueba de esto es el estudio sociológico de Nina M. Ray y Gary McCain de 2012, titulado "Personal Identity and Nostalgia for the Distant Land of Past:

Legacy Tourism", el cual demostró que la 'identidad personal' es la razón principal por la que los consumidores participan en la genealogía y el turismo de legado (Ray y McCain 2012: 977). Se encuentra evidencia adicional de este fenómeno en el libro *Beyond the Synagogue: Jewish Nostalgia as Religious Practice* (2021), donde, centrándose en el contexto judío, Rachel B. Gross postula que actividades como comprar un sándwich de pastrami, embarcarse en una búsqueda genealógica o sumergirse en las exhibiciones del Museo en Eldridge Street están inspiradas en la nostalgia judía, y, a su vez, la alimentan. Esta nostalgia, según argumenta Gross, ha servido durante mucho tiempo como una práctica religiosa para las comunidades judías en Estados Unidos. De acuerdo con la autora, "muchos judíos estadounidenses están comunicando cada vez más valores e ideas judías a sus hijos al interactuar con los productos de museos, tiendas de regalos, restaurantes, editoriales, fabricantes de juguetes, organizaciones filantrópicas y otras instituciones aparentemente seculares" (Gross 2021: 6, traducción mía).[9]

En conjunto, coincidiendo con las ideas de los académicos mencionados anteriormente, este artículo sostiene que "la nostalgia se utiliza para desarrollar, sostener y recrear la identidad de las personas" (Sierra y McQuitty 2007: 100, traducción mía).[10] En el contexto de este marco teórico surge entonces la siguiente pregunta: ¿Participan también los cubano-americanos en estas prácticas como una forma de reafirmar su identidad cubana? Este artículo trata de explorar, sirviéndose de la interacción del personaje de Pilar con la práctica religiosa conocida como 'Regla de Osha-Ifá', cómo los personajes cubano-americanos utilizan prácticas nostálgicas para construir una identidad conectada a su tierra natal, tal y como se ejemplifica en la novela *Soñar en Cuban*o de Cristina García. De esta manera, este estudio se posiciona como uno de los pocos en su tipo en analizar y relacionar la Regla de Osha-Ifá como una práctica perteneciente al espectro de actividades nostálgicas utilizadas entre la diáspora cubana en Estados Unidos como viaducto para desarrollar cierto nivel de identidad nacional.

Se busca determinar si esta práctica conduce a un desarrollo de la identidad nacional entre los individuos que la practican (en este caso mediante el personaje de Pilar). Esta investigación reviste de un importante interés social, cultural y literario, ya que aporta conocimientos sobre la evolución de la relación de los cubano-americanos con su tierra natal y sobre su representación en la literatura. Además, los hallazgos podrían brindar luces a la hora de intentar comprender o predecir la evolución de otras comunidades diaspóricas. Este análisis literario de un fragmento específico de la novela *Soñar en Cubano* (1992) de Cristina García pretende demostrar que los cubano-americanos han practicado, y practican consistentemente, la Regla de Osha-Ifá como elemento nostálgico, con intención de fortalecer su sentido de *cubanidad*. Por cubanidad entendemos "la conciencia

de ser cubano y la voluntad de querer serlo" (Ortiz 1940: 166). Para fundamentar esta afirmación se proporcionará evidencia, profundizando, a través del personaje de Pilar, en la práctica de esta religión como medio para explorar la identidad nacional.

2. Breve introducción al contexto de la autora y de la novela

Nacida en La Habana el 4 de julio de 1958, la vida de Cristina García dio un giro total a la corta edad de dos años cuando emigró a los Estados Unidos junto a sus padres. Sumergiéndose en la diversidad de Queens (Nueva York), García comenzó una trayectoria académica que culminó en una licenciatura en Ciencias Políticas en el Barnard College en 1979. Dos años más tarde, amplió su formación académica, obteniendo una Maestría en Relaciones Internacionales en la Escuela de Estudios Internacionales Avanzados de la Universidad Johns Hopkins. Entre sus obras más destacadas se encuentran sus tres primeras novelas: *Dreaming in Cuban* de 1992 —una obra que, junto con la ganadora del Pulitzer de 1990, *The Mambo Kings Play Songs of Love*, podría decirse que inauguró el canon literario cubano-americano—, *The Agüero Sisters* de 1997 y *Monkey Hunting* de 2003. Su último trabajo, *Vanishing Maps*, fue publicado en 2023. Su obra ha sido traducida a más de 15 idiomas y su primera novela, *Dreaming in Cuban*, fue finalista del National Book Award.

Soñar en Cubano forma un rico tapiz narrativo que entrelaza las vidas de tres generaciones de mujeres de la familia del Pino. La estructura narrativa de la novela se desvía de una progresión lineal y cronológica, empleando en su lugar un movimiento fluido a través del tiempo, que nos va ofreciendo fragmentos de las distintas etapas de la vida de los personajes. Mediante el uso de múltiples perspectivas, el lector obtiene un acceso íntimo a los pensamientos y emociones de los diversos miembros de la familia, y de aquellos estrechamente conectados a ellos, como Herminia. A través de las diferentes experiencias de los personajes, la novela nos muestra un retrato vívido de la tumultuosa historia de Cuba, junto con las complejidades que vive la diáspora cubana en los Estados Unidos.

La novela comienza con Celia del Pino vigilando la costa de Cuba en espera de una posible invasión estadounidense. Antes de casarse con Jorge del Pino, quien está sometiéndose a un tratamiento para el cáncer, en Nueva York; y de tener a sus dos hijas, Lourdes y Felicia, y a su hijo, Javier, Celia tuvo una relación romántica con un revolucionario español llamado Gustavo, a quien escribe cartas (que nunca envía) durante 25 años, detallando los momentos más cruciales de su vida. Es a través de estas cartas que los lectores se familiarizan íntimamente con su historia.

Después de completar su habitual patrullaje costero (Celia es una ferviente comunista), su hija Felicia llega para darle la noticia de que Lourdes ha llamado desde Estados Unidos anunciando que Jorge ha fallecido. Para aliviar el dolor de Felicia por la muerte de su padre, su amiga Herminia la insta a visitar a una santera con la intención de que pueda hacer las paces con su fallecido padre. Felicia acepta con la condición de que no haya sacrificio de animales, pero cuando llegan, un santero sacrifica una cabra para Elegguá, y Felicia se desmaya.

Al otro lado del estrecho, la hija mayor de Celia, Lourdes Puente, vive con su marido Rufino y su hija Pilar en la ciudad de Nueva York. Aunque Lourdes se ha establecido como una próspera empresaria en los Estados Unidos, dirigiendo una exitosa panadería, las cicatrices psicológicas de sus duras vivencias en Cuba perduran, especialmente su experiencia como víctima de violación a manos del soldado encargado de la expropiación de la finca de la familia de Rufino. Como relata García, en marcado contraste con las firmes convicciones comunistas de su madre Celia, Lourdes pronuncia la palabra "comunistas" de la misma manera que algunas personas dicen "cáncer", "lenta y rabiosamente" (García 1994: 45).

Lourdes alberga una relación compleja y difícil con su hija Pilar, quien aparece como una adolescente artística, de espíritu punk. A pesar de haber vivido en Brooklyn la mayor parte de su vida, Pilar dice no sentir "que aquello fuera mi patria. Tampoco estoy muy segura de que Cuba lo sea, pero quisiera averiguarlo" (1994: 87). Es este sentimiento, la necesidad de descubrir a dónde pertenece, y el descubrimiento de que su padre tiene una aventura con otra mujer, lo que la lleva a intentar escapar a Cuba, fallando en el intento. En última instancia, consigue llegar solo hasta Florida, pero durante el viaje en autobús tiene un sueño en el que un colectivo de santeras la corona ante su abuela, con quien se comunica telepáticamente.

De vuelta a Cuba, descubrimos que Celia se ha dedicado completamente a la Revolución, pasando una temporada fuera de casa para ayudar a cortar caña de azúcar, y sirviendo como jueza en juicios públicos. Por otro lado, su hija Felicia se ha vuelto mentalmente inestable después de pasar por un primer matrimonio abusivo. Como resultado de este matrimonio, Felicia tiene tres hijos: las gemelas Luz y Milagro, e Ivanito. Mientras tanto, en Estados Unidos, el fantasma del fallecido Jorge se le aparece a su hija Lourdes, y le promete mantenerse en contacto. Más tarde, aprendemos que, después de la boda de Jorge y Celia, éste emprendió un largo viaje de negocios como respuesta rencorosa a los celos que sentía hacia Gustavo, dejando a Celia aislada con su madre y su hermana, quienes la sometieron a graves maltratos (especialmente al enterarse de su embarazo), llevándola al borde de la locura. Cuando nació Lourdes, Celia tuvo que ser hospitalizada en un manicomio, y Jorge fue quien cuidó a la recién nacida.

El primer matrimonio de Felicia terminó después de que intentara asesinar a su esposo Hugo Villaverde, prendiéndole fuego. Después de este suceso, Felicia descendió completamente a la locura, y su madre Celia se ofreció a llevarse a los niños con ella. Luz y Milagro, que despreciaban a su madre, aceptaron irse con su abuela, pero el joven Ivanito se negó a dejarla sola. Felicia pasaba sus días encerrada en casa con Ivanito, hasta que un día decide suicidarse y llevarse a Ivanito con ella, triturando pastillas en la comida, pero Celia, que había tenido una premonición, corre con la amiga de Felicia, Herminia, para salvarlos. Tras este incidente, Felicia es asignada a una milicia guerrillera, junto a otros parias sociales, mientras que Ivanito es enviado a un internado. Mientras tanto, Celia pasa su tiempo pensando en su hijo Javier, que actualmente reside en Checoslovaquia, donde ha formado una familia. La separación familiar pesa mucho sobre Celia, que reconoce la escasez de conexión genuina que comparte con sus hijos.

A medida que avanza el tiempo, la historia se traslada a los años 1975 y 1976. Mientras "Lourdes disfruta patrullando las calles con sus zapatos negros de suela gruesa" (García 1994: 173) como policía auxiliar, su relación con Rufino, que no ha podido adaptarse al nuevo país, y ha fracasado en sus emprendimientos; y con su hija Pilar está tensa. Pilar se ha integrado completamente en la cultura estadounidense, tiene opiniones políticas contrarias a las de su madre, y ha empezado a salir con alguien. Cuanto más abraza la vida estadounidense, más siente que "Cuba se desvanece un poco más dentro de mí" (García 1994: 187). Un momento crucial en la relación de Pilar con su madre se produce cuando ésta última planea abrir una nueva panadería y solicita un cuadro para la celebración del día de Independencia de Estados Unidos. La decisión de Lourdes de conceder a su hija completa libertad artística lleva a Pilar a crear una versión punk de la Estatua de la Libertad. Cuando se desvela el cuadro, el público reacciona negativamente, y, a pesar de la desaprobación inicial de Lourdes, ésta finalmente defiende la creación de su hija delante de todos, lo que lleva a Pilar a reconocer el amor de su madre.

Han pasado dos años, y, al regresar a Cuba, se nos presenta la inquietante revelación de que Felicia ha contraído dos matrimonios posteriores, ambos culminando en la muerte de sus respectivos cónyuges; el primero, un desafortunado accidente, mientras que el segundo, como lectores, sospechamos que pudo haber sido orquestado por la propia Felicia. A estas alturas, Javier ha regresado a Cuba desde Checoslovaquia. Su condición es deplorable y su vida se está deteriorando a medida que sucumbe al alcoholismo. Celia renuncia a sus esfuerzos revolucionarios y se dedica de lleno al cuidado de su hijo. Al notar su estado de deterioro, "con la ayuda de algunos amigos de la microbrigada de la capital, Celia localiza a la santera del este de La Habana que la había tratado en 1934, cuando se moría de amor por

el español" (García 1994: 216). Sin embargo, cuando llega la santera, ya es demasiado tarde. Javier ha huido, destinado a encontrar la muerte.

En la sección final de la novela, aparece por primera vez una narradora que no forma parte de la familia del Pino. Ésta es Herminia Delgado, la mejor amiga de Felicia. Herminia cuenta cómo a Felicia nunca le importó la diferencia racial entre ellas o que otros miembros de la sociedad temieran a su padre, un *babalawo*, o sumo sacerdote de la Regla de Osha e Ifá. También, habla de cómo se ha retratado la raza en la historia de Cuba, y cómo antes de la revolución "cuanto más blanco fueras, mejor lo tenías" (García 1994: 247). Aunque algunas cosas habían cambiado, en última instancia observa que un aspecto ha permanecido prácticamente inalterado, "los hombres aún continúan ejerciendo el poder" (García 1994: 248). Herminia cuenta como, después de regresar de la milicia guerrillera, Felicia se interesa cada vez más por el culto a los orishas, llegando a iniciarse como santera.

Aunque Herminia no puede asistir al asiento de Felicia, ya que "la ceremonia ha sido secreta desde el tiempo en que los primeros esclavos llegaron a la isla para trabajar en las plantaciones de caña" (García 1994: 250), Felicia le cuenta sobre el ritual y le pide que le diga a Celia, su madre, que no hay razón para tener miedo. A pesar de seguir todos los pasos de un iniciado, la salud de Felicia se deteriora y, finalmente, muere en manos de su madre. La voz del fallecido Jorge vuelve a aparecer ante su hija Lourdes para informarle de que su hermana ha muerto y de que es hora de que regrese a Cuba y se reconcilie con su pasado. Las causas de este regreso a Cuba, principalmente desde la posición de Pilar, son las que se analizan en la siguiente sección.

3. *"¿Y qué tú quieres que te den?"*: La Regla de Osha-Ifá como elemento de supervivencia y puente hacia la identidad nacional[11]

Méndez argumentó en su artículo "Like a Dialect Freaked by Thunder" (2011) que las mujeres cubanas históricamente han utilizado los rituales de la Regla de Osha-Ifá como una forma de desafiar al patriarcado y como un mecanismo de supervivencia, permitiéndoles lidiar con las experiencias traumáticas que han marcado sus vidas. Además, destaca cómo las personas transnacionales pueden sentir cierta resistencia hacia sus identidades culturales y su ascendencia en el nuevo entorno, lo que puede llegar a generar sentimientos de alienación. En este sentido, Méndez argumenta que los cubano-americanos se han resistido a estos sentimientos de alienación participando en prácticas asociadas estrechamente a la santería. La Regla de Osha-Ifá, también conocida como el camino de los santos,

o más popularmente como santería, nació como una práctica sincrética que mezclaba elementos de la religión Yoruba con el catolicismo romano y el espiritismo francés. Los esclavos se dieron cuenta de que sus orishas eran similares a los santos católicos, ya que ambos actuaban como puentes hacia un poder superior. De esta manera, "bajo las restricciones de su opresión, los esclavos comenzaron a fusionar a los intermediarios de las dos religiones, identificando a un orisha concreto con un santo específico correspondiente" (Lefever 1996: 319, traducción mía).[12]

Académicos como Kali Argyriadis han afirmado que la legitimación de la Regla de Osha-Ifá va más allá de "la dimensión religiosa", explicando que "lo que está en juego es la cuestión de la cubanía" (Argyriadis 2005: 85). Según Argyriadis, la antropología cubana ha dedicado una gran parte de sus esfuerzos a categorizar y definir las prácticas religiosas de origen africano en la isla, convirtiendo la cuestión de si estas prácticas pueden considerarse una parte integral de la identidad cultural cubana en un debate central y continuo durante más de un siglo. Para la etnóloga Lydia Cabrera no cabía duda de este aspecto, pues afirmó que el estudio y la observación de la religión afro-cubana son indispensables para captar la esencia misma de Cuba, y que "no nos adentraremos mucho en la vida cubana, sin dejar de encontrarnos con esta presencia africana que no se manifiesta exclusivamente en la coloración de la piel" (en Castellanos y Castellanos 1992: 5).

De hecho, la Regla de Osha-Ifá ha jugado un papel central en la configuración de la historia de la isla, actuando como un faro de resistencia y subversión para los africanos esclavizados durante siglos, y ejerciendo una profunda influencia en el tapiz cultural de la nación a través de la música, el arte y la danza. Las profundas supersticiones arraigadas entre la población cubana pueden haber exacerbado el impacto de estos eventos. Por ejemplo, muchos santeros practicantes aclamaban a Fidel Castro como una figura mesiánica luego de que una paloma blanca aterrizara en su hombro durante un discurso público. Otros han atribuido la tumultuosa trayectoria del país a una forma de castigo divino por su negativa a otorgar asilo a los refugiados judíos que huían de la persecución nazi a bordo del SS St. Louis en 1939.

La presencia perdurable de la Regla de Osha-Ifá dentro de las comunidades cubano-americanas en Estados Unidos es un testimonio de su profundo significado cultural. Para los cubano-americanos, participar en este tipo de prácticas funciona como un poderoso mecanismo para combatir la asimilación, salvaguardar su identidad cultural distintiva y preservar su rica herencia cubana del riesgo de erosión. En esencia, es un medio vital para mantener su cubanidad. Estos rituales y ceremonias no sólo tienden un puente sobre su brecha física y

emocional, sino también fomentan un sentido de comunidad entre los cubano-americanos que comparten una misma herencia.

Méndez describe el uso histórico de la Regla de Osha-Ifá por parte de las mujeres cubanas como método de supervivencia al entorno, desafío al patriarcado y resistencia a la pérdida de la identidad cultural propia. El ejemplo vivo de esta teoría fue la artista Ana Mendieta,[13] a la cual se debe mencionar por sus similitudes con el personaje ficticio de Pilar — ambas son artistas cubano-americanas, que emigran a una edad temprana, y que en un momento dado recurren a la 'santería' como medio de resistencia al sistema y conexión con la tierra natal. De hecho, se puede afirmar que Pilar tiene mucho de Mendieta. Inmersa en los movimientos feministas de los años setenta, el repertorio artístico y diverso de Mendieta, que abarca piezas como *Dolor de Cuba*, *Cuerpo soy* y *Sudando sangre*, se centró constantemente en temáticas de esa índole. Sentía un particular respeto por las mujeres taínas que perecieron durante la colonización de Cuba, por Olokun-Yemayá, la diosa del mar en la religión de los orishas; y por la Venus Negra, que surgió como símbolo antiesclavista y que representaba la "afirmación de un ser libre y natural que se negaba a ser colonizado" (Cabañas 1999: 14, traducción mía).[14] De acuerdo con Cabañas, esta exploración de antiguas figuras femeninas de la mitología e iconografía prehistóricas pretendía revitalizar la noción de las matriarquías como símbolo del empoderamiento femenino y recuperación cultural.

La profunda fascinación de Mendieta por la santería se evidencia en la naturaleza ritualística de su obra, que a menudo incorpora elementos como fuego, sangre, agua y tierra (Baker 2016: 24). Además, la costumbre de ejecutar sus obras en reclusión, buscando espacios privados para llevar a cabo el proceso artístico, y, posteriormente, documentando los rituales en vídeo para su exhibición en galerías de arte, subraya aún más la conexión entre su arte y las prácticas o rituales intuitivos (Baker 2016: 24). En la escena de *Soñar en Cubano,* que se analizará en el apartado siguiente, Pilar refleja la visión de Mendieta de "que los rituales más simples, los que están relacionados con la tierra y sus estaciones, son los más profundos" (García 1994: 265). La afirmación de Baker de que el ritual "actúa para Mendieta como un conector con Cuba" (Baker 2016: 25) sirve como otro testimonio más del papel de las prácticas religiosas como conectores nostálgicos para los cubano-americanos.

Para Mendieta, cultivar una conexión profunda con su tierra natal a través de su arte era una búsqueda indispensable, como lo evidencia su afirmación en el documental *Ana Mendieta: Fuego de Tierra* de 1987: "Yo siempre me he sentido de que… Cuba para mí es una relación personal que yo tengo con Cuba, en ese sentido, muy real" (García-Ferraz et al. 1987). Así como el ritual actuaba para

Mendieta como conector entre ella y Cuba, en *Soñar en Cubano* el ritual se presenta como una práctica nostálgica que conecta a Pilar con su herencia cultural y sus raíces ancestrales, proporcionándole un medio para hacer frente al desplazamiento y la pérdida. La novela examina el ritual como un medio por el cual Pilar puede mantener un sentido de continuidad cultural, a pesar del desplazamiento físico de su tierra natal.

4. Pilar, hija de Changó: Rompiendo el fukú, buscando la cubanidad

La escritora cubano-americana Cristina García se ha convertido con el paso de los años en una voz poderosa en el panorama literario norteamericano. Comparándola con autoras como Gloria Anzaldúa y Cherríe Moraga, Méndez afirma que la obra de García extiende el análisis crítico de las prácticas espirituales en la comunidad latina/o norteamericana (Méndez 2011: 127). La autora ha hecho uso de la Regla de Osha-Ifá en sus novelas como un medio directo para reclamar la identidad y fomentar una narrativa descolonial. En *Soñar en Cubano* (1992), la Regla de Osha-Ifá juega un papel central en la vida de los isleños. Por ejemplo, en el caso de Celia, el personaje "recurre primero a la Santería siendo joven, y la práctica asegura su supervivencia" (Méndez 2011: 135, traducción mía)[15] durante el sufrimiento por la partida de Gustavo. A su vez, tras su experiencia en la brigada miliciana, y la pérdida de sus dos últimos maridos, la segunda hija de Celia, Felicia, encuentra refugio en la práctica espiritual de la Regla de Osha-Ifá, introducida por su mejor amiga, Herminia, como método de empoderamiento (Méndez 2011: 137). Tras iniciarse como sacerdotisa o *santera*, el rostro de Felicia se describe como sereno, como el de una diosa (Méndez 2011: 137). Tomando como base la idea de Méndez de que García demuestra que la Regla de Osha-Ifá sirve como medio de empoderamiento y como una forma de mantener un sentido de identidad racial y étnico (Méndez 2011: 124), a continuación, se demuestra cómo la odisea personal de Pilar la lleva a abrazar el ritual con este fin. Finalmente, a través del ritual, Pilar entra en contacto por primera vez con un sentido de pertenencia desconocido hasta el momento para ella.

Nos situamos en el año 1980, en la previa de lo que es la parte final de la novela, cuando la historia está cerca de alcanzar su desenlace final. La fecha en sí está plagada de simbolismo, ya que marcó el inicio del éxodo del Mariel. Como lectores tenemos la sensación de que el destino de los personajes acabará entrelazado con los de sus respectivas naciones. Paseando por Park Avenue, la joven Pilar de 21 años reflexiona sobre cómo es posible que siendo tan joven sienta nostalgia de su propia juventud. Mientras pasea decide entrar en una

botánica (una tienda de temática espiritual con elementos santeros y de otras prácticas religiosas) en la cual nunca había entrado, a pesar de haber pasado otras veces por delante. Pilar nos informa de que "hoy, al parecer, no tengo otro sitio mejor a donde ir" (García 1994: 265). Una vez dentro, se coloca un collar rojo y blanco, y toma un bastón de madera de ébano, "que lleva tallada una mujer blandiendo un hacha de doble filo" (266). García procede a explicar el significado de estas dos acciones cuando el propietario de la tienda se dirige a Pilar diciéndole: "Ah, una hija de Changó" (266), relacionándola directamente con el orisha del trueno.

En un momento crucial y cargado de simbolismo, el señor aconseja a Pilar que, si se somete a nueve noches consecutivas de baños a base de ciertas hierbas específicas, sumado a un ritual con agua bendita y velas, obtendrá la claridad y la guía que busca. Cuando Pilar intenta sacar la cartera para pagar, éste le declina cortésmente el pago, asegurándole que "es un obsequio de nuestro padre Changó" (García 1994: 267). Acto seguido, mientras se apresura a regresar a su habitación universitaria, Pilar narra cómo de niña en Cuba tuvo varias niñeras que habían tenido miedo de ella, ya que creían que poseía poderes sobrenaturales. Las niñeras se quejaban a Lourdes de que su hija les robaba las sombras, y de que por culpa de la pequeña se les caía el pelo, o sus maridos les eran infieles. Sin embargo, un día llegó una nueva niñera que no se inmutó ante una tormenta eléctrica, y compartió con Pilar la historia de cómo Changó una vez le pidió a una lagartija que le entregara un regalo a la amante de un dios rival:

> La lagartija puso el presente en su boca y corrió a casa de la mujer, pero en el camino tropezó y se cayó, tragándose la preciosa alhaja. Cuando Changó se enteró, siguió las huellas de su inepto cómplice hasta el pie de una palmera. El atemorizado reptil, incapaz de decir palabra alguna, subió corriendo por el tronco y se escondió entre las hojas, llevando todavía el regalo alojado en su garganta. Changó, creyendo que la lagartija se estaba burlando de él, lanzó un rayo contra el árbol, intentando reducir a cenizas a la penosa criatura. Desde entonces, según Lucilda, Changó de vez en cuando descarga su rabia contra las inocentes palmeras, y hasta hoy, la garganta de las lagartijas permanece muda e inflamada por culpa del regalo del dios. (García 1994: 268).

Antes de llegar a la residencia universitaria, tres jóvenes adolescentes abusan sexualmente de Pilar. Logrando sobrevivir a la situación, y una vez en su habitación, Pilar se dispone a hacer los preparativos necesarios para llevar a cabo el ritual:

> Enciendo mi vela. Con las hierbas, el agua de baño adquiere una tonalidad verde claro. Tiene el aroma intenso de un prado en primavera. Cuando la dejo caer sobre mi pelo siento un frío pegajoso, como si fuera hielo seco, y luego un calor soporífero. Camino desnuda como un destello de luz por caminos de ladrillo y plazas cubiertas

> de césped, fosforescente y limpia. A medianoche me despierto y pinto un gran lienzo encendido de rojos y blancos, cada uno de los colores traicionando al contrario. Hago lo mismo durante ocho noches más. (García 1994: 270)

Pasadas las nueve noches, Pilar sabe con total seguridad qué es lo que tiene que hacer: "llamo a mi madre y le digo que nos vamos a Cuba" (García 1994: 270). La importancia y el sentido de que Pilar incluya a su madre Lourdes, con la cual mantiene una difícil relación, en su decisión de viajar a Cuba es trascendental en lo que concierne a la conexión del personaje con su identidad nacional.

A través del concepto de postmemoria, Marianne Hirsch conceptualizó la transmisión intergeneracional del trauma histórico como la transferencia de una experiencia traumática de una generación a otra de forma consecutiva. En "Projected Memory: Holocaust Photographs in Personal and Public Fantasy", Hirsch define esta experiencia traumática, que afecta con especial ímpetu a los individuos de segunda generación, como el fenómeno en el que "las propias memorias de la segunda generación quedan en un segundo plano, o existen a la sombra de las memorias traumáticas de las que solo tienen un acceso limitado y altamente cargado de emociones" (Hirsch 1999: 8, traducción mía).[16] Junot Díaz llevó este concepto a un terreno más caribeño al bautizarlo como *fukú* en su obra *La maravillosa vida breve de Óscar Wao* (2007), describiéndolo como una maldición que habría entrado en América con la llegada de Cristóbal Colón. Díaz sugiere que para los dominicanos "el trauma histórico de la esclavitud, la violencia sexual, el gobierno tiránico y la diáspora es tan dañino que es heredado por cada generación" (Richardson 2018: 24, traducción mía).[17]

Tal y como observa Richardson sobre la novela de Díaz, la ruptura iniciada por la diáspora influye negativamente en los hijos de Felicia, Oscar y Lola (Richardson 2018: 34). La negativa de Felicia a comunicar su historia y experiencias traumáticas a sus hijos, eligiendo silenciar su pasado y ocultárselo, crea estas brechas comunicativas que Richardson denomina 'páginas en blanco'. A su vez, estas páginas en blanco "crean una desconexión entre sus hijos y su tierra natal caribeña, dejándolos sin un punto de apoyo estable o una identidad completa al crecer en Estados Unidos" (Richardson 2018: 34, traducción mía).[18]

De manera similar, en *Soñar en Cubano* encontramos exactamente estas mismas páginas en blanco, que crean una brecha en el vínculo entre madres e hijas de la familia del Pino, comenzando por Celia y Lourdes, y continuando en la siguiente generación con Lourdes y Pilar. El primer ejemplo de esta brecha se observa en la separación emocional e ideológica entre Celia, una comunista convencida, y su hija Lourdes, anticomunista acérrima, sumado además a la distancia física que las separa (Lourdes forma parte de la diáspora cubano-americana, mientras que su madre vive en Cuba). Asimismo, el hecho de que Lourdes nunca le cuente a

su hija Pilar acerca de su violación en Cuba y que, a su vez, Pilar nunca le cuente a su madre sobre su episodio de abuso sexual, constituye otro ejemplo de *fukú*. Esta maldición transgeneracional podría considerarse la tragedia dramática esencial de la novela, sobre todo si tenemos en cuenta las palabras de la activista e intelectual Adrienne Rich, quien describió "la pérdida de la hija para la madre, la madre para la hija" como la tragedia femenina esencial (Rich, 1976: 225, traducción mía)[19] — una de las principales tragedias femeninas, podríamos decir, que suceden en esta novela.

Dentro de *La maravillosa vida breve de Óscar Wao* (2007), los actos de resistencia contra el *fukú*, así como la empatía de Óscar hacia sus familiares femeninas, o el potencial de Isis para dar voz a la narrativa familiar se desarrollan a través de un retorno físico a República Dominicana. El regreso a casa de Óscar y Lola sirve como génesis del "proceso de sanación y superación del legado traumático de su familia" (Richardson 2018: 45, traducción mía).[20] "Al cerrar la brecha de la diáspora" (45, traducción mía),[21] los hijos de Felicia comienzan a curar sus heridas y a desenterrar recuerdos que eran cruciales para el desarrollo de su propia identidad (45). Del mismo modo, en la novela de García, el regreso de Pilar y Lourdes a Cuba, juntas como madre e hija, funciona como un acto intencional para romper el ciclo de la maldición generacional y hacer las paces con la historia familiar, con el fin de lograr un desarrollo de identidad más profundo. Es a través de la práctica de la Regla de Osha-Ifá, después de completar los nueve días de baños con hierbas, que Pilar llega a una profunda comprensión de que debe regresar a la patria (convenciendo a su madre en el camino). Como señala Méndez, es la práctica espiritual de la santería la que le brinda a Pilar "la capacidad de tomar decisiones que nunca creyó posibles" (Méndez 2011: 150, traducción mía),[22] viajando finalmente a Cuba "con la esperanza de resolver la nostalgia que los productos culturales cubanos no pueden satisfacer del todo" (Sáez 2005: 137, traducción mía).[23]

Jacqueline Stefanko, inspirándose en la afirmación de Amy Kaminsky en *Reading the Body Politic: Feminist Criticism and Latin American Women Writers* (1993) de que "el lugar del exilio está definido por lo que falta, no por lo que contiene" (Kaminsky 1993: 30, traducción mía),[24] sostiene que, como consecuencia de su desplazamiento, el sentido de desarraigo de Pilar al principio de la novela se ve agravado por la ausencia de su abuela Celia, convirtiendo Nueva York en un entorno inhóspito para ella (Stefanko 1996: 65). Sin embargo, al final de la novela, además de volver a conectar con un sentimiento de identidad nacional (cubanidad), Pilar se da cuenta de que el lugar al que realmente pertenece es Nueva York: "Pero tarde o temprano tendré que regresar a Nueva York. Ahora sé que es allí adonde pertenezco (y no *en vez* de a Cuba, sino *más* que a Cuba"

(García 1994: 311, énfasis en el original). Por lo tanto, se puede decir que su búsqueda por encontrar su propia *cubanidad* la conduce, también, a descubrir una *americanidad* que nunca antes había experimentado.

5. Conclusión

El estudio de 2001 "Cuban Identity: A Preliminary Study" exploró la noción de 'paraíso perdido' a través de las vivencias de estudiantes cubano-americanos. Al indagar en su construcción identitaria, y en cómo experimentaban esta sensación de pérdida, se buscó comprender los patrones que unían y diferenciaban sus relatos. Para Delia, sentirse cubana era como vivir en un "qué hubiera sido si…". Al confesar que "nunca llegó a estar allí" (Alvarez et al. 2001: 3, traducción mía),[25] la estudiante evidenciaba la complejidad de construir una identidad nacional cuando ésta se basa en un lugar al que nunca se ha pertenecido físicamente. La afirmación de Filler de que hay "una sensación de 'lugar inalcanzable' que permanece viva en la conciencia de aquellos cubano-americanos de generaciones posteriores que nunca han visto Cuba" (Filler 2019: 11-12, traducción mía)[26] captura de manera sucinta la relación compleja y multifacética entre los exiliados cubanos y su patria.

El análisis de los ejemplos expuestos subraya el papel de la Regla de Osha-Ifá, tomada como práctica nostálgica, como elemento que permite a Pilar, en su búsqueda por resistir las presiones del nuevo entorno y mantener su identidad cultural, reforzar su conexión personal con su tierra natal y su sentido de cubanidad. La afirmación que se ha articulado a lo largo de este artículo queda reforzada por el argumento de Sáez de que la nostalgia "funciona como la ruta que Pilar emprende para recuperar sus recuerdos familiares, así como su propio sentido de identidad y pertenencia" (Saéz 2005: 131, traducción mía).[27] Finalmente, se observa que viajar a la isla se convierte en el paso culminante para cerrar la brecha, reafirmar la propia identidad étnica (cubanidad) e, incluso, descubrir una identidad nacional ligada a los Estados Unidos, hasta entonces desconocida para la protagonista. Haciendo eco de las palabras del escritor camagüeyano Severo Sarduy, "ir más allá es un regreso" (1986: 14), el retorno de la autora Cristina García a Cuba en 1984 se convirtió en una experiencia necesaria a la hora de entender su propia identidad como cubano-americana. Un volver atrás necesario para saber continuar hacia adelante en la sociedad norteamericana con un mayor sentido de pertenencia a su identidad étnica. Reflejando su propia vivencia en el personaje de Pilar, regresar a casa (la tierra natal) no admitía discusión alguna.

Notes

1. "*the Cuban nation in García's novels is a highly individualized and personal matter*".

2. "*develop, sustain, and recreate individuals' identities*".

3. "*the definitive story of Cuban exiles*".

4. "*there are Cuban-American literatures because there are Cuban Americans*".

5. "*in revolutionary Cuba, the possibility of leaving —or being left— became part of everyday life*".

6. "*a yearning for the past, or a fondness for tangible or intangible possessions and activities linked with the past*".

7. "*not only tangible products, but activities*".

8. "*signal and reinforce consumers' self-identity*".

9. "*many American Jews are increasingly communicating Jewish values and ideas to their children by engaging with the products of museums, gift shops, restaurants, publishing companies, toy manufacturers, philantropies, and other ostensibly secular institutions*".

10. "*nostalgia is used to develop, sustain, and recreate individuals' identities*".

11. "¿Y qué tú quieres que te den?": La Regla de Osha-Ifá como elemento de supervivencia y puente hacia la identidad nacional". Hace referencia al título de la popular canción de Adalberto Álvarez y su Son lanzada en 1995 como parte del álbum *Caliente, Caliente*. Este homenaje musical a los orishas no solo ayudó a dar visibilidad a la religión Yoruba dentro y fuera de Cuba, sino que también contribuyó a su aceptación y reconocimiento como parte integral de la identidad cultural cubana.

12. "*under the constraints of their oppression, the slaves began to fuse the intermediaries of the two religions and to identify a specific orisha with a corresponding specific saint*".

13. Fallecida en 1985 en situaciones sospechosas a la corta edad de 36 años.

14. "*affirmation of a free and natural being who refused to be colonized*".

15. "*first employs Santería as a young woman, and the practice proves to ensure her survival*".

16. "*the second generation's own memories take a back seat to or exist in the shadow of traumatic memories to which they have only limited and highly charged access*".

17. "*the historical trauma of slavery, sexual violence, tyrannical governance, and diaspora is so damaging that it is inherited by each generation*".

18. "*create a disconnection between her children and their Caribbean homeland that leaves them without stable footing or a complete identity growing up in the US*".

19. "*the loss of the daughter to the mother, the mother to the daughter*".

20. "*process of healing and moving past their family's traumatic legacy*".

21. "*bridging the gap of the diaspora*".

22. "*the agency to make decisions that she never thought possible*".

23. "*in hopes of resolving the nostalgia that the Cuban cultural products cannot ultimately satiate*".

24. "*the place of exile is defined by what is missing, not by what it contains*".

25. "*was never there*".

26. "*some sense of an unobtainable place remains alive in the consciousness of later-generation Cuban-Americans who have never even seen Cuba*".

27. "*consequently serves as the route Pilar travels in order to recuperate her family memories as well as a sense of her own identity and space of belonging*".

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THE TRANSNATIONAL FORMATION OF THE ENGLISH NOVEL: THE CASE OF MADAME DE VILLEDIEU'S *THE ANNALS OF LOVE* (1672)

LA FORMACIÓN TRANSNACIONAL DE LA NOVELA INGLESA: EL CASO DE *THE ANNALS OF LOVE* (1672), DE MADAME DE VILLEDIEU

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Abstract

In the late 1660s and 1670s, Madame de Villedieu (née Desjardins) made a substantial contribution to the evolution of prose fiction, moving the genre from the heroic romance to the *nouvelle* in France, and thus in England. Her *Annales Galantes* (1670), translated as *The Annals of Love* (1672), is a landmark work within the development of the genre. The twenty-one "amorous adventures" that make up this collection contain an impressive array of characters and psychological portraits of individuals enmeshed in a multiplicity of romantic relationships and situations. Drawing from chronicles and historical records and set in Europe and Asia in periods ranging from the early Middle Ages to the modern era, the author presents these stories as factual accounts through her use of sources and reinforces her narrative authority with calculated digressions and metanarrative commentary. This article examines Villedieu's innovative experiment in history and narrative technique in the literary context of the transition to the *nouvelle* (and the novel) in England. It studies the ways in which narration in *The Annals* abandons the unreliable voices and human-like points of view that characterised the English heroic romances, making use of authorial privilege, literary techniques and discourses associated with truth-telling, such as omniscience, biography and history, while constantly reminding readers of her imaginative reconstruction of the stories.

Keywords: Restoration fiction, Desjardins/Villedieu, *nouvelle galante*, history, omniscience, literary metanarration.

Resumen

Madame de Villedieu (nacida Desjardins) contribuyó sustancialmente al género de ficción en su evolución desde el romance heroico a la *nouvelle* en Francia —y por ende en Inglaterra— a finales de los 1660s y principios de los 1670s. Su *Annales Galantes* (1670), traducido como *The Annals of Love* (1672), marcó ese proceso. Comprende veintiuna "aventuras amorosas" que despliegan una impresionante galería de personajes y retratos psicológicos, envueltos en todo tipo de relaciones y situaciones amorosas basadas en crónicas y registros históricos, tanto en Europa como en el ámbito Oriental, del siglo X a la Edad Moderna. Villedieu intentó infundir veracidad en sus relatos incluyendo una lista de fuentes históricas, y reforzó su autoridad narrativa con digresiones calculadas y comentarios metanarrativos. Este artículo estudia el innovador experimento de Villedieu con la historia y la técnica narrativa en el contexto literario de la transición del romance heroico a la *nouvelle* (y la novela) en Inglaterra. Se analiza cómo la narración de *The Annals* abandona voces no-fidedignas y focalizadores humanos propios de los romances heroicos ingleses, y utiliza técnicas y discursos autoriales asociados con la verdad, tales como la omnisciencia, la biografía y la historia, al tiempo que no deja de recordar al lector la esencia imaginaria de sus reconstrucciones.

Palabras clave: Ficción del período de la Restauración, Desjardins/Villedieu, *nouvelle galante*, historia, omnisciencia, metanarración literaria.

1. Introduction

Throughout the 1660s and 1670s, English fiction underwent a transformation that has yet to be fully apprehended, especially its transnational dimension. During this time, a variety of new forms and subgenres were imported from the Continent, largely from or via France, which markedly influenced production in the vernacular language.[1] In the early 1660s, British writers such as George Mackenzie, John Dauncey, Percy Herbert and Samuel Pordage endeavoured to naturalise French heroic romances by incorporating domestic politics and using the English literary heritage. However, the genre had become outdated by the end of the decade and was superseded by the short *nouvelle*, introduced in France in the late 1650s by writers as different as Paul Scarron (translated in 1665) and Madame de La Fayette, whose *The Princess of Monpensier* was published anonymously in 1662 and translated in 1666.

The achievements of Marie-Catherine-Hortense de Villedieu, née Desjardins (1640?-1683) have been overshadowed by the prominence given to La Fayette, another eminent *salonnière*. Until 1668, Villedieu authored her books under the *nom de plume* Mademoiselle Desjardins; but, according to DeJean, "When a young man of a superior rank who had promised to marry her (once again secretly) refused to do so, she simply took his name: in the late 1660s she began to be known as 'Madame de Villedieu'" (1991: 130), though many of her works were published anonymously in both periods. She began her career around 1659 publishing poetry, prose and drama, and was a leading figure in the transition from the heroic romance to the *nouvelle*. She is attributed the creation of the pseudo-memoirs genre in *The Memoires of the Life and Rare Adventures of Henrietta Silvia Moliere* (1672) and, in the words of Ros Ballaster, is "best known for instituting the *nouvelle galante*, short sequences of stories concerned with amorous adventures" (2017: 392). She embraced the *nouvelle galante* in 1667 when, in the preface to *Anaxandre*, she announced that the adventures of the novel "are more gallant than heroic" (Desjardins 1667: n.p., my translation).[2] *Cléonice*, subtitled *Le roman galant* (1669), marks a transition towards the *nouvelle* (Sale 2006: 35). As Giorgio Sale has argued, the piece ushered in a period of Villedieu's literary experimentation with genres, forms and styles that she would carry over from work to work (2006: 43).

The scope and subject matter of *Annales Galantes* (1670), translated into English as *The Annals of Love* (1672), are consistently —and explicitly— reflective of the *nouvelle galante*. It is thus an excellent text to investigate the impact of the new genre in England and explore the transition from the heroic romance to the *nouvelle* (and the novel) or, to use McKeon's terminology, the move from writing verisimilitude (*vraisemblance*) to true-to-fact accounts — or claim to historicity (1988: 54; see also McKeon 1985: 165). Villedieu produced a mature, highly entertaining work in which she describes the features of the *nouvelle galante* as she blends history and imagination, and in which she avoids the overwrought style of the heroic romance and its use of unreliable storytellers. Instead, she reinforces her narrator's skills or "competence" (Lanser 1981: 171), and authorial privilege through narrative techniques and discourses associated with authenticity and truth.

2. Restoration Fiction: Romances, Life-Writing and the Nouvelle

English prose fiction of the early years of the Restoration presents an extraordinary variety of genres and hybrid, innovative texts, "though no major English novels appeared" (Turner 2017: 73). It was an age "dominated by experimentation and

lack of coherence [out of which] comes coherence and certain stability" (Bayer 2017: 6), a time when the distinction between popular romance, historical text and novel differed from our current notions (McKeon 1985: 162-163). To understand the extent of Villedieu's innovative storytelling in England, it is necessary to survey the production of fiction in England, specifically high romances and (auto)biography, since the former was superseded by the shorter, more realistic *nouvelle*, while the latter endeavoured to offer factual life accounts of notorious characters, mainly criminals.

During the Commonwealth, as Victoria Kahn has argued, "in Herbert's […] *Princess Cloria* (1653-1661), […] Richard Brathwaite's *Panthalia* (1659), and William Sales's unfinished *Theophania* (1655), we find considerably more scepticism about the arcadian dimension of the romance. Instead, it becomes an analytical tool for reflecting on the causes of the war and the contemporary crisis of political obligation" (2002: 627). In the early 1660s, though Mackenzie's *Aretina* (1660) also reflected upon legislation and politics, English high romances explored less serious matters, mostly related with conflicts of love and loyalty. For example, Pordage's *Eliana* (1661) debates the nature of friendship and love, and Bulteel's unfinished *Birinthea* concentrates on Cyrus's dilemma between his love for the slave princess and his loyalty to his uncle Cyaxares, King of the Medes. Yet the genre, which drew heavily on verisimilitude and analysed the characters' psychology, was firmly established among readers and writers alike, as shown by the numerous successful reprints and translations of French heroic romances, and, especially, by John Dauncey's *The English Lovers* (1661-1662), which novelises Thomas Heywood's two-part play, *The Fair Maid from the West*. Characteristic of heroic romances, Dauncey structured the narrative using an in-medias-res approach and a multiplicity of narrators instead of reproducing the play's linear plot and single, heterodiegetic narrator — two of the main structural features that would come to distinguish the *nouvelle*. Strikingly, however, by the end of the decade, high romances fell out of fashion. Only Roger Boyle, at the request of Queen Henrietta Maria, published the sixth instalment of *Parthenissa* in 1669; however, he tactfully put an end to the series on the grounds that "I did once design to have Ended Her story in this Book" (Orrery 1676: Xxxx4r), even though the romance (808 folio-pages long) was left unfinished. Nonetheless, unlike in France, the fascination for this genre and its royalist ideals lingered in England long after 1670.

The 1660s saw the creation of several imaginative texts within the life-writing genres, blurring the boundaries between reality and fiction by combining factual events with persuasive styles and techniques meant to reinforce credibility, or at least convey the impression of factuality. Perhaps because of prejudices

surrounding gender or honour, or both, the (male) narrator in *The Life and Death of Mrs. Mary Frith* (alias Mal Cutpurse, and the model of Middleton and Dekker's Roaring Girl) told the adult life of this peculiar picaresque *hic mulier* (c.1584-1659) by using the editor-narrator technique, whereby he pretends to be publishing a "diary", which he claims to be "of her own" (1662: 26-27). The author of *Youth's Unconstancy* (1667, attributed to Charles Croke) chose to call himself Rodolphus and tell the story of his life in the third person, thus distancing himself from his younger, roguish self. Only John Bunyan seems to anticipate the style of the *nouvelle* when he claims that the truth and sincerity of his spiritual autobiography, *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, were more fittingly rendered in "plain and simple" (1666: A5v) than adorned or elevated language.

Unreliability haunts the narrators of criminals' biographies, who claim to have witnessed certain events and to have obtained documents and reports from creditable informants, as if they were engaged in a kind of (proto-)journalistic activity. These narrators also discuss the truthfulness of dubious accounts and hearsays, whereby the 'I' of the narrators may show up at any time throughout. For example, an account of the case of James Turner was printed not only in the minutes of the court proceedings, but also in two short chapbooks. Issuing a warning about the fate awaiting thieves, *The Triumph of Truth* aimed to distinguish fact from rumour and calumny. The narrator, for example, tells of two letters in an attempt to reinforce his credibility, and addresses certain rumours such as this one suggesting cannibalism: "one thing is known to many for a truth […], his preserving some of the Fat or other parts of the Corps of divers persons lately executed for Treason, […]" (*The Triumph of Truth* 1663: 31). As a postscript, the author refers to a forthcoming publication about Turner, warning readers about the falsehoods it may spread (1663: 32). Likewise, the narrator of the new version, *The Life and Death of James Commonly Called Collonel Turner*, has the same purpose and also discredits the previous one (1664: 13-14).

Lastly, William Winstanley's *The Honour of the Merchant-Taylors*, about *condottiero* Sir John Hawkwood (c. 1320-1394) in Italy, may illustrate the transition from the romance to the historical novel in England, even though Paul Salzman fittingly classified it as a piece of "popular non-chivalric fiction" (1985: 378). Indeed, literary conventions that characterise the romance pervade the portrayal of the hero, while the story, based on chronicles, is presented as "a real truth, though imbelished with such flowers of Poesy as I could gather out of Apollo's Garden, that thou mightest be won with delight in the reading thereof" (Winstanley 1668: A4v).

In England, the *nouvelle historique* and *nouvelle galante* emerged —and eventually took hold— in this context of the decline of the heroic romance and the rise of

life-writing. These two kinds of *nouvelle* are often treated indistinctly, as their main concern is love and their setting a relatively recent past. Notwithstanding their similarity, Paul Salzman has argued that the *nouvelle galante* places more emphasis on intrigue and love affairs, and less on the characters' psychology than the *nouvelle historique* (1985: 309-310). La Fayette's *The Princess of Monpensier* is traditionally regarded as the pioneer of the historical and the psychological novel both in France and England. Since the name of the heroine was the same as a high-profile public figure, the French bookseller remarked in the prefatory note to the reader that the story was not the publication of a manuscript from historical times but rather an invention of the author, who preferred to name "his [sic]" protagonists after historical people instead of romance characters (1666: A4v, A5r). The English translator, however, made the story ambiguously authentic when, in his note preceding that of the French bookseller, he claims to have begun work on the translation only when the original publisher assured him that it was not fiction but a factual account; and many readers may have believed it to be biographical. *The Princess of Monpensier* was not published in English again until the twentieth century, which suggests a modest reception, probably owing to La Fayatte's radically innovative method that, as Esmerin-Sarrazin explains, "combines history and fiction and overlaps them so much that it becomes difficult to distinguish one from another; […] thus offering a redefinition of the concept of *vraisemblance*" (2016: 87). It, however, paved the way for the variety of prose fiction genres that emerged in the last three decades of the seventeenth century. Amorous adventures and scandalous histories, among others, contributed positively to the transition from the romance to the novel in England, thus widening the existing stream of realistic fiction brought into being by the picaresque genre, moral short stories such as John Reynold's highly popular *The Triumph of God's Revenge* (1621-1635), Spanish and Italian tales, and the novels of Scarron, who, in addition to his own production, appropriated stories authored by Alonso de Castillo Solórzano, Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo and María de Zayas.

3. *The Annals of Love*

As had happened in France, the English version of *Annales Galantes* (Paris: Claude Barbin, 1670. 12°) appeared anonymously, although Villedieu acknowledged that the book was hers in 1671 in the prefatory note to the fifth part of *Journal amoureux* (Grande and Keller-Rahbé 2006: 16), which was not translated into English. *The Annals of Love, Containing Select Histories of the Amours of Divers Princes Courts, Pleasantly Related* was translated by Roger

L'Estrange (Cottegnies 2022: 52) —genuinely rendering the narratives, tone and style of the source text— and published in London by John Starkey in 1672, in octavo (Wing reference D1187A; ESTC reference R11570). All eight parts are included in a single volume comprising the twenty-one stories (or sections), "containing only matters of Courtship", as she states at the beginning of the second part (1672: 53). Unlike the heroic romances, neither the character nor the country names are coded, and none of the events are from ancient times. The spatial-temporal scope of the collection spans Europe, North Africa and the Middle East, from the tenth century to the early modern period.[3] Not only does Villedieu superbly accomplish a kind of textual *cabinet of curiosities* of courtship, seduction, love affairs and situations recorded or suggested in post-classical chronicles and history books until that time, but also produces an astonishing typology of psychological —especially female— portraits of royal and aristocratic lovers, most of them ancestors of seventeenth-century European sovereigns.

Villedieu's book marks a significant innovation in English prose fiction in terms of the source and nature of her stories and characters, her historian-like stance, language style and narrative technique. If verisimilitude or realism are considered, *The Annals of Love* brought to English fiction a convincing illusion of factual storytelling and truth, partly because "the historical basis is much more accurate and becomes far more reliable" (Grande 2021: 71, my translation).[4] The fact that most of her characters were both real people and the subject of history books establishes a crucial ontological difference with the realistic fictional characters in picaresque narratives or in John Reynolds' stories of homicides in his *Triumph of God's Revenge*. At the beginning of the preface, Villedieu insists on the authenticity of her accounts and explicitly attacks certain contemporary "intrigues" that blatantly misrepresent history, perhaps referring to narratives such as *The Princess of Monpensier* or her own *Loves Journal* (1671), when she asserts that her stories "are no witty and facetious Inventions, exhibited under true Names (of which kind I have seen lately an ingenious Essay) but faithful touches taken out of History in general" (1672: A2r). In addition, by narrating post-classical historical events featuring members of Mediterranean and other European royalty and related stately dignitaries, she not only establishes a radical opposition to the romances of La Calprenède and Scudéry, which were mostly set in ancient times, but also contends that her new type of narrative takes an altogether different stance in selecting the 'adventures' and 'accidents' for the plots, and modulating the style of the narrative voice. In the story of "Constance, the Fair Nun", for example, when the protagonist and her lover (Frederick Barbarossa's son) must take their leave, Villedieu marks a key difference between her literary style and that of the heroic romance by maintaining the neutral, historical tone when she makes reference to heroic romances in explaining her refusal to describe her

characters' emotional storms: "This place would make a marvellous Ornament for a Romance, and I should have a great care how I past it over in silence, were this a Romance, and not a History; but the style of Annals do not suit with Rhetorical Ornations, and therefore I shall refer my curious Reader to the passionate partings in *Cirus* or *Clelia*" (1672: 96). In statements such as these, Villedieu not only explains the features of her "annals" as a distinct genre, but also aims to elucidate what pertains to the heroic-romance effects of verisimilitude and what to the purported authenticity of her stories of gallantry. Such narratives of courtship are obviously not devoid of picaresque elements. These features are most conspicuous in the series of García Fernández stories, in which a pilgrim seduces his wife and both escape to Paris, and in "The Fraticelles" when the friars, "Seeing then this Clutter and publick Ostentation of Love [in the streets of Rome all night long], had been the cause of so much disorder, […] resolved to carry on theirs privately, and à la Sourdine, without giving any more occasion of Jealousie than needs must" (1672: 114). This picaresque spirit resonates with the narrative tone that Grande has described as deliberately light: "the tone is deliberately light and meant to please a complicit readership that knows how to appreciate the game of historical distortion and delights in it" (2021: 70, my translation).[5]

3.1. History and *The Annals of Love*

To a certain degree, *The Annals of Love* could be compared to the work of Henry Fielding, who was convinced that he was practising and exploring new ways of novel writing. Like Fielding, Villedieu explains the nature and characteristics of her work —the annals and, by extension, the *nouvelle galante*— both in the preface and the body text. The preface, called a "true manifesto of the *nouvelle historique*" by Keller-Rahbé (2010: 127, my translation),[6] opens by explaining the nature and sources of the content. She states that "these Annals of Love are really History, whose Fountains and Originals, I have on purpose inserted in the ensuing Table" (1672: A2r). Although containing several inaccuracies (Keller-Rahbé 2010: 132), this table of bibliographical references at the end of the preface reveals the intertextual link between the stories and their sources, while the reader is encouraged to contrast the historical hypotexts with the novelist's expanded rendering of them (1672: A4r).[7] Both the bibliographical list and the author's comments on her treatment of each source reinforce the authenticity of the stories while asserting their imaginary nature. Therefore, as Keller-Rahbé has stated: "the reader is invited not to rely excessively on the sources but to be guided by the author, who presents herself more as a true novelist and less as a historian" (2010: 132-133, my translation).[8] In fact, Villedieu makes it clear that her fabrications of facts range from writing "almost word for word out of that chronicle" (1672: A4r) in "James King of Arragon", fleshing out

fictional versions of the historical sketch —as in the three about Count García Fernández of Castile— to inventing entire plots, as she acknowledges that "the Amour of Nugnez is suppositious" (1672: A4v). However, the list only covers the first four parts, which are the ones initially published, whereas no reference is made to the sources of the last four. In the latter, Villedieu further distances her writing from a historical account as she, for example, imagines Jacaya's life (claimed to be Sultan Mehmet III's son, who must have either died as a young child or never existed), and foregrounds autobiographical elements in the story of "Feliciane", as she crossdresses to search for the man who seduced her.[9]

Villedieu also declares that her stories do not attempt to depict contemporary people or events —or, in her words, "a scheme of our present Hyprocrisie" (1672: A2r)— as earlier high romances often did by encoding character identities and place names. Nevertheless, she seems to hint that this possibility should not be thoroughly dismissed: "If in the Conferences and Passages I have invented, there happens any resemblance with the Intrigues of our Age, it is no fault either in the History or in me, that was writ long before I was born" (1672: A2v). Yet Villedieu's method of embedding political satire in fiction differs from *roman-à-clef* narratives. Indeed, her innovative book of princely love affairs and scandals has been read as a sly attack on Louis XIV's policy of centralising power: "Their [La Fayette's and Villedieu's] contempt for royal authority […] voices a post-Frondean nobility's resentment of Louis XIV's efforts to curtail its powers, and women found their agency particularly constrained" (Watkins 2016: 260).[10] Although the French monarchy is never directly attacked (except in "The Countess of Pontieuvre"), Villedieu is unforgiving in her critique of the Iberian kings, from whom Louis XIV descended through his mother, Philip III's daughter Anna of Austria. "Harlots they were both" (1672: 36) is the narrator's description of García Fernández's wives. Incest and infidelity taint the depiction of Alphonse VI's daughters in "The Three Princesses of Castile", and, in "Jane Supposed of Castile", impotent Henry IV of Castile is shown soliciting an heir from his wife through adultery consented by the three parties: "She pretended great horrour at the first Proposition, that she might have the pleasure of being pressed; and the King did her that kindness, he prest, he intreated, and his Election concurring with the Queens, the good Monarch conducted the Count de Cueva to the Royal Bed with his own hand" (1672: 311).

Although the English translation contains eight wise maxims in verse in addition to many more poetical compositions, the instructive or moral sense of Villedieu's collection is problematic —or, as she says, "never so irregular" (1672: A3r)— when depicting the immorality of certain historical actions and characters, especially religious and female. On the one hand, she claims, "I might interlace,

and inlay my Examples with profitable Precepts, I observe this Maxime in all of them, to punish Vice, and reward Vertue" (1672: A3r), which, in 1670, Daniel Huet described as "the chief end of a Romance", or "Fictions of Love-Adventures" in general (1672: 3), while, on the other, as in the examples regarding the Spanish monarchy, her narrator does not seem compelled to judge immorality and impart instruction because of her supposedly truthful, objective fidelity to history. However, she explicitly claims to have modified one of the stories to make it less morally offensive to readers when she remarks that the "custom of promiscuous injoyment in all sorts of people, without choice or distinction", introduced by Dulcinus and Margaret in Lombardy, was toned down in favour of "the changing of Husbands and Wives" (1672: A4v). This likely explains why the sequel to the story of Dulcinus and Margaret, "Nogaret and Mariana", is the only I-narration in the book (Mariana being one of the women that Margaret interrogated), though in the end the latter couple does not divorce but reunites.

In relation to the story of Nogaret, who was not a character of royal extraction, it is worth highlighting the incidental comment about letters and nuns at the beginning of "Constance the Fair Nun": "there have been Letters seen in our days which have taught us, that of all people in the World, none make Love with that confidence and freedom as the Nuns" (1672: 82). This could refer to the letters of Heloise and Abelard, published in Latin in 1616 and popularised at the end of the seventeenth century, but most probably to anonymous *Lettres portugaises*, by Gabriel-Joseph de Lavergne Guilleragues (although for a long time attributed to Portuguese Marianna Alcoforado) —and entitled *Lettres d'amour d'une religieuse portugaise* in subsequent editions— which was first published in France in 1669, and translated by Roger L'Estrange in 1678 as *Five Love-Letters from a Nun to a Cavalier*. Stories with ordinary characters such as these seem beyond her scope of historical personalities and, thus, of her apparent neutrality at judging their love affairs and morality — unlike in picaresque and criminal stories, whose purpose was also the readers' moral instruction.

Her imaginative expansions of historical episodes involve the addition of what she calls "some ornaments to the simplicity of History" (1672: A2r). These ornaments mainly consist of settings and dialogues that give voice to those silenced by history (1672: A2v), because such accounts of courtship or love affairs would be unpardonable digressions in serious history books: "I have not memories to trust to", she says, "but my own fancy" (1672: A2v). To justify the objectivity of those fanciful recreations of facts, Villedieu appeals to the universality of human love and loving throughout time. She argued that if her words and dialogues "are not what they really spake, they are at least what they might" (1672: A2v). Likewise, she systematically obliterates tragedies, crimes and catastrophes that do not fall

into the range of matters acceptable for her annals, and suggests that the reader consult the "chronological history" (1672: 51) to learn about them. For example, at the end of the story "Don Pedro King of Castile" (Pedro the Cruel), she explains that "The rest of the Reign of Pedro de Castile is so repleat with Murders and Cruelties of all sorts, that I could not describe them without falling into a Tragical recitation, which I have always carefully avoided" (1672: 204). *The Annals of Love* thus generates a parodic, alternative kind of history, since the chronology is not determined by reigns or wars, but by the accumulation and sequence of courtship stories throughout time: "The Chronology of History not according exactly with the Chronology of Love, there are some years in which no amorous Intrigues are to be found, and there are others in which all the considerable Accidents are Love" (1672: 53). By doing so, Villedieu as implied author, as organiser of the level of the story, separates herself from the imposition of history to generate an alternative pattern, which perfectly suits her creative supplements to historical records, and to attain her chief purpose of pleasing the reader as the last word of the preface emphasises: "[…] the intention of the Author, who meant no more than their [the readers'] divertisement" (1672: A3v). Much of the readers' pleasure arises from their necessary cooperation with the narrator in reconstructing the historical 'adventures' of love.

3.2. Narrative Technique in *The Annals of Love*

On listing her sources, Villedieu also generates a spectrum of different degrees of faithfulness to history, from downright precision to sheer invention. This fluctuating relationship between historical sources and novelistic fabrications not only shows the flexibility of Villedieu's faithfulness to fact, but also anticipates the intense activity expected from the reader — or the narratee, since there is little difference between the style and tone of the authorial voice of the preface and source list, and the narratorial voice of the stories. Indeed, as never before in English fiction (as far as we know), Villedieu's narrator often addresses readers to suggest that they either look for further information or co-operate in the construction of the narrative world — both actions helping to invigorate the illusion of reality that characterises the *nouvelle*.

The equivalence between the implied author and the narrator is most evident in statements about the structure and design of the book's stories and parts and its commentary on historical facts. Indications such as the following were common in high romances: "And now let us take our leave of our new Emperour and Empress, and take a fresh turn about the World, to see if we can find any new Adventure in that Age, that may be fit to close up our Annals of this year" (1672: 106). What is uncommon, and indeed innovative, even in *The Princess of*

Monpensier, are Villedieu's metanarrative comments on the features of her *Annals*, especially concerning the theme of courtship and the alternative pattern of organising history, while she frequently suggests the reader consult books to obtain a full depiction of the period, as if the imaginary scenes of the stories were —if not complementary— at least compatible with the chronicles: "I refer the Reader to the History itself to be informed of all the Occurrences. The Annals of Love observe only the more remarkable Passages, and represents them without any regular Order" (1672: 285). Remarks about historical facts, either to grade their rarity and incredibility,[11] or to express her views on them,[12] not only increase the narrator's storytelling competence, but also transport the elements of wonder to the level of plain reality. This new depiction of wonder in English fiction may explain why *The Annals of Love* prompted John Dryden to pen two comedies: "Nogaret and Mariana" inspired the character of Doralice in *Marriage à la Mode* (1673), while "Constance the Fair Nun" provided the serious plot of *The Assignation; or Love in a Nunnery* (1673) (Langbaine 1687: 6-7). Indeed, Villedieu's collection contains several stories that certainly contributed to the emergence of subgenres of fiction in addition to the *nouvelle historique* and *nouvelle galante* such as the oriental tale and the "Scandal Chronicle/Secret History" (Salzman 1985: 368), and to the dissemination of stories like that of Agnes de Castro (Cottegnies 2022: 52).

Restoration romance writers paid careful attention to their narrators' competence and reliability. The frame-stories are conventionally human-like focalisers that stand close to the main characters and thus report what is objectively perceived from an external perspective. Therefore, thoughts, emotions and feelings are only conveyed through action, gestures, dialogues, monologues, letters, poems, notes and even through psychosomatic symptoms like fever and other bodily reactions. The remote past events (i.e. individual stories) are told by homodiegetic narrators, either their protagonists or witnesses. Similarly, writers of life accounts also struggled to attain authenticity and, thus, credibility through technique and textual resources. The anonymous author of one of the biographies, *The Triumph of Truth* (1663), claims on the title page to offer an "exact and impartial relation" of Turner's life told by himself to "an intimate friend" before the execution. In addition to the different reports, the author also includes several letters with the sole purpose "to confirm the truth of these passages" (*The Triumph of Truth* 1663: 16). Those narrative voices of the English heroic romances and life accounts, though competent and likely honest, are not completely trustworthy since all I-narrators are unreliable.

The teller of *The Annals of Love* exemplifies the narrators that Susan Lanser has described as "virtually 'raised' to the ontological status of historical authors,

and this semireferential voice is presumed to be communicating the perspective —the imaginative and ideological consciousness— of the author" (1981: 155). The narrator is thus endowed with omniscience and other authorial privileges over the narrative world, an exceptional characteristic in the fiction of the early years of the Restoration outside satirical works or manifestly unlikely stories. Besides guiding the reader through the structure and organisation of the stories, the narrator often explores the characters' interiority with verbs of mental activity, sometimes through several sentences[13] and other rhetorical strategies, such as euphemisms, in refusing to articulate what she only pretends to know: "the Marquess retired to his own Appartment, so confused and transported with rage, I cannot without crime repeat the flagitious designs he had at that time in his head" (1672: 246). Moreover, the narrator occasionally undertakes activities that, in theory, correspond to the implied author. For example, instead of summarising the content of a letter, she claims to have translated it from the Spanish (1672: 77), questions the capacity of history to convey absolute and impartial truth,[14] and discusses certain differences between the romance and her annals, while justifying part of her narration:

> A Romantick Author would not fail to have made him conquer his Enemy, and given the Empire to the Exploits of his victorious Arm; and not without reason, for right being on his side, why should Fortune be against him? however he performed what a man of Courage could possibly do in defence of his Title; but in despight of his Bravery and diligence, he was wounded, defeated, and had much ado to escape the pursuit of his Enemies; I take the liberty notwithstanding to inlarge, and intersperse his Adventures with such Accidents as are least incompatible with the History. (1672: 382)

More radically, the narrator does not hide the fictional nature of the annals. She openly names a character: "[…] his Astrologer (which we shall call Abdemelec)" (1672: 64) and, as the author informed about fictitious Hortensia in the preface, she also makes clear in the body text that she is producing the imaginary life of a son to Sultan Mehmed III, who died in infancy: "Jacaya, whose History I am writing" (1672: 380), and of yet others that, like the African woman who fell in love with King Sebastian of Portugal, has simply been invented:

> I do not think the Reader requires further light in this Adventure, I have inlarged it much to what it is represented in my History, and I assure my self there are many who believe they have perused all the Memoires of that Age, to whom this Princess of Morocco is every where a stranger, except in the Annals of Love. (1672: 379)

The narrator often invokes relatively recent historical chronicles, memoires and manuscripts. These registers both intensify the truthfulness of the story,[15] which is, thus, necessarily realistic, and pinpoint the 'amorous intrigues' that her annals

imaginatively shape. The success of this depends on the reader's willingness and ability to enliven the fictional appendixes to the historical records. When the narrator at times bridges the temporal gap between the present and the historical past, and reports as if she were witnessing the event,[16] it is the reader who sees and constructs, as Monika Fludernik has argued (2009: 7). The highly self-conscious narrator of *The Annals of Love* persists in demanding that the reader not only see and imagine,[17] but also think, understand and judge.[18]

4. Conclusion

As part of the general objective of broadening the understanding of the transnational formation of the English novel in the transition from the romance to the *nouvelle*, this article has specifically drawn attention to Villedieu's claim to historicity and narrative technique in *The Annals of Love*, translated in 1672. This work was the first in Villedieu's collections of stories on historical characters and was followed by many others, including *The Loves of Sundry Philosophers and Other Great Men* (1673), *The Disorders of Love* (1677) and *The Unfortunates Heroes* [*Les Exilés*] (1679). In addition to the works of Scarron, La Fayette and Villedieu's own, *The Annals of Love* helped consolidate the *nouvelle* (*galante* and *historique*) and contributed to the emergence of other subgenres ("scandal chronicles" and "secret histories" among them), relegating the heroic romance to the past. Nonetheless, the masterpieces of the *nouvelle*, such as Saint Réal's *Don Carlos* (1674) and La Fayette's *The Princess of Cleves* (1678), were yet to come. Even if they can be broadly considered "historical romances about love and betrayal at various European courts", as Watkins has suggested (2016: 260), Villedieu conceived her "annals" as a distinct kind of fiction, self-consciously departing towards forms now associated with the novel.

Villedieu explains her treatment of history, both in the preface and in metanarrative comments in the body text. To this purpose, she provides a list of references with which the reader may contrast her sources with her stories of courtship and love affairs; but, while supporting their authenticity, she also grades their faithfulness, thus generating a spectrum from literal fidelity to complete invention (mostly in the last stories) and, in the process, creating multiple ways of attaining a pervasive sense of plausibility. Compared to the English high romances, which were often set in antiquity or in an unidentified past, her stories take place in post-classical times (from the tenth century to the early modern period); therefore, many protagonists were ancestors of seventeenth-century royal and aristocratic families. Villedieu explicitly concentrates on seduction and love, dismissing serious matters

of political concern. This method of complementing history, however, arouses a sense of moral ambiguity because her apparently objective narration stealthily betrays a rather personal mode of assessing her royal or noble characters and their lovers, insomuch as her suggestions of admiration or contempt are disguised as a simple rendering of history. In this regard, though she avoids moral judgement or instruction, she embeds her criticism in *The Annals* itself and its picaresque elements, and in the plain style imitating the language of history to recount compromising and scandalous events, either facts or suppositions, especially about the monarchies of the Iberian Peninsula.

The influence of history prompts the rejection of certain features typical of heroic romances that distort reality (such as outpourings of passionate emotions and the excessive idealisation of the main characters). However, her annals do not adhere faithfully to the boundaries of the history-book truth (which is also questioned), but rather imaginatively complement it. In this respect, Villedieu patterns an alternative chronology determined by sequences of courtship affairs, assumes a historian-like role and puts into practice narrative strategies associated with omniscience. As part of the creation of an atmosphere of authenticity, she rejects the figure of the unreliable narrator (typical of both the English heroic romances and the biographies of criminals) to reinforce her narrator's privileges so as to make her equivalent to the implied author, not only by contriving and orchestrating the illusion of historical truth, but also by proposing that the reader (sometimes compellingly) co-operate with her in animating these illusions, albeit simultaneously —and paradoxically— being reminded of their imaginary nature. As has been illustrated, for example, the narrator claims to have consulted several books about particular stories, analyses the characters' minds (one of the most significant technical innovations), and is allowed to name secondary characters, or invent characters and full stories — especially in the last parts of the collection. By this point, Villedieu's readers must have been persuaded to both accept and enjoy her ingenious fabrications from history, which, as she emphasises in the last word of the preface, were ultimately devised for their "divertissement".

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Notes

1. For the influence of translation on the English novel see McMurran (2010), especially chapter one: "Translation and the Modern Novel" (27-43).

2. "*sont plus Galantes qu'Heroïques*".

3. These are the stories, indicating the number, title, century, place, sovereign/ruler involved and first page: 1-2 "The Countess of Castile" and "The Pilgrim" (10th, Castile, Count García Fernández, 1 and 4); 3 "Alfreda of England" (10th, England, King Edgar, 14); 4 "Don Garcias of Spain" (10th, Castile and France, Count García Fernández, 30); 5 "The Duke and Dutchess of Modena" (10th, Empire of the West [Aachen], Otho the Great, 37); 6 "The Three Princesses of Castile" (11th and 12th, Leon, Galicia, Castile and Portugal, Alphonso VI of Leon and Castile, and his daughters Urraca, Theresia and Elvira, 53); 7 "Constance the Fair Nun" (12th, Rome, Frederick Barbarossa, 81); 8 "James King of Arragon" (13th, Aragon, James I, 106); 9 "The Fraticelles" (13th and 14th, Rome, Pope Boniface VIII, 113); 10 "Dulcinus King of Lombardy" (13th and 14th, Lombardy, Pope Clement V, 156); 11 "Nogaret and Mariana" (13th and 14th, France, Guillaume de Nogaret, statesman to Philip IV of France, 163); 12 "Don Pedro King of Castile" (14th, Castile, Peter I, 185); 13 "John Paleogolus Emperour of Greece" (14th, Byzantine Empire, John V, 205); 14 "Amedy Duke of Savoy" (15th, Savoy, Amadeus VIII, 223); 15 "Agnes de Castro" (14th, Portugal, Peter I, 251); 16 "The Countess of Pontieuvre" (15th, France, Charles VII/Louis XI, 262); 17 "Feliciane" (15th, Tunis/Castile, Count Arevalo/reign of Henry IV of Castile, 286); 18 "Jane Supposed of Castile" (15th, Castile, Joana of Castile "la Beltraneja", 310); 19 "The Persian Princes" (16th, Persia. Twin sons to Ismail I, 310); 20 "Don Sebastian King of Portugal" (16th, Kingdom of Marocco and Fez, Sebastian I, 355); 21 "Jacaya a Turkish Prince" (17th, Ottoman Empire, Constantinople, Greece, Poland and Florence, Mehmed III's son who is claimed to have survived, 380). For their plot summaries see Cuénin (1979).

4. "*l'ancrage historique est beaucoup plus précis et devient nettement plus fiable*".

5. "*le ton est délibérément léger, fait pour plaire à un public complice, un public qui sait apprécier le jeu de la déformation historique et qui s'en amuse*".

6. "*véritable manifeste de la nouvelle historique*".

7. On the list, the name "Ramire XVI. Roy d'Oviedo & IV. De Leon" in the French original (Verdier 1663: biij/v), and "*Raymire* sixteenth King of *Oviedo*, and fourth of *Leon*" (1672: A3v) in the English version, may be confusing since there was no Ramiro XVI, but Ramiro III, which could be that 16th King of Oviedo and 4th of Leon. Though the author's name and the page are missing in the reference, the itemised source contains the political and warfare achievements of the Count of Castile García Fernández, after which Gilbert Saulnier du Verdier adds a brief report about his unhappy marriages — Villedieu's object of interest (1663: 269-270).

8. "*le lecteur est invité à ne pas se fier excessivement aux sources et à s'en remettre à l'auteur, qui se présente moins comme un historien que comme un vrai romancier*".

9. As Grande and Keller-Rahbé have remarked, "the autobiographemes take the form of haunting images and motifs, such as that of a clandestine marriage" (2006: 25, my translation) ("*les autobiographèmes prennent la forme d'images et de motifs obsédants, que l'on songe par exemple à ceux du mariage clandestin*").

10. René Démoris has also described the rise of *nouvelle historique* and *galante* in France as both a consequence and resistance to Louis XIV's absolutist monarchy (1983: 27).

11. "Let not the reader be surprised at this kind of Vow" (1672: 31); "Examples of

this kind are rare" (1672: 37); "His misfortune was too common to be incredible, but the circumstance with which it was accomplished, was beyond all belief" (1672: 78-79).

12. "And thus I have given you the Commencement of this year, not so eminent for Love, as it promised in appearance. These six persons had almost no sooner seen one another, but they were married, and no sooner married, but they differed, so that this place would be more proper for an Historical Abridgment, than the Introduction of an amorous Intrigue" (1672: 55); "and indeed I am of opinion" (1672: 68); "And I am apt to believe with many great Authors" (1672: 355).

13. "She thought that Circumstance would make the Emperour believe that she which spake to him was a Lady of that Rank, and so thinking her unworthy of his Company, leave her to her self, but it fell out quite contrary. Frederick indeed judged of her as she had presaged, but that opinion made his desires more violent: for finding them accompanied with hopes, from their conception, he gave himself wholly up to them without either fear or discretion; he considered Constance afresh, her shape, her air, the sound of her voice, the quickness of her Eye, and the Pleasantness of her Wit: All of them were as charming in appearance, as they were in effect: and flattering his imagination with a thousand fantastical Chimera's, he took his leave of her, the most enamoured Person in the World" (1672: 87).

14. "But there are few Memoires which attribute that to Constances Gallant, which History imputes to the Protector of the Antipope: and thus it is the great Affairs of the World are secretly carried on: They have all several faces, and we see nothing but as the partiality or ignorance of the Historian represents" (1672: 103).

15. The stories are replete with references to history such as "History has represented this Lady so beautiful, it will be needless in me to describe her" (1672: 23); "Margaret his Wife (called in History the Volupuous [sic]) […]" (1672: 157).

16. "It was pleasant to see the terrour the poor Countess was in" (1672: 66); "It was a pretty piece of Grotesque to see this famous Fraticel […]" (1672: 153).

17. "It is not necessary to insert how the fair Widow resented so foul an action. I should have exprest the affection she had for her Husband but weakly, if the Reader could not imagine the extream sorrow she conceived for his death" (1672: 51); "I suppose there is scarce any Reader but imagines it, without my description" (1672: 152).

18. "I leave it to the Reader to judge how much […]" (1672: 49); "There is no Reader I suppose so ignorant, but he knows what the Spanish History reports of Leonora" (1672: 310).

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THE POWER OF FANCY: LIBERTY AND IMAGINATION IN PHILIP FRENEAU'S COLLEGE WRITINGS

EL PODER DE LA FANTASÍA: LIBERTAD E IMAGINACIÓN EN LOS ESCRITOS UNIVERSITARIOS DE PHILIP FRENEAU

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Abstract

Like other prominent members of the revolutionary generation, Philip Freneau lived his formative years against the backdrop of the imperial crisis that would lead to the independence of the US in 1776, and this would make a lasting impression on his later life and writings, especially as regards his ideas on the possibility for creativity and individuality in a time of increasing politicisation. This article examines the particular terms in which the poet's college experiences influenced his conflicted take on liberty and imagination, which remained a persistent concern both during and after his time at the College of New Jersey (now Princeton). Drawing on original archival work, the article focuses on his most extensive reflection on the matter, "The Power of Fancy" (1770), and offers an analysis of the poem in connection with several other prominent eighteenth-century philosophical and literary texts that also address the imaginative faculty. In so doing, the article reveals the workings of an anti-imaginistic tradition, instilled through the curriculum of late-colonial Princeton, in Freneau's college writings — a tradition that the poet both espoused and resisted on his quest for individual autonomy and creative expression.

Keywords: Philip Freneau, fancy, liberty, imagination, Princeton.

Resumen

Al igual que otros miembros de la generación revolucionaria, Philip Freneau vivió sus años de formación en el contexto de la crisis imperial que llevaría a la fundación de los EEUU y esto, por diversas razones, sería decisivo para su vida y escritos posteriores, especialmente en lo concerniente a la posibilidad de aseverar su individualidad creativa en una época de creciente politización. Este artículo examina los términos en los que la experiencia universitaria del poeta influyó en su forma de entender la libertad y la imaginación, una problemática que siguió siendo una preocupación persistente del autor tanto durante como después de su estancia en el College of New Jersey (ahora Princeton). Basado en un trabajo de archivo original, el artículo se centra en la reflexión más extensa sobre el tema que hizo el autor, "The Power of Fancy" (1770), comparando el poema con otros textos filosóficos y literarios del siglo XVIII que reflexionan también sobre la imaginación. Al hacerlo, el artículo revela la influencia de una tradición anti-imaginista, inculcada a través del plan de estudios del Princeton tardocolonial, en los escritos universitarios de Freneau — una tradición que el poeta abrazó y resistió a la par en su esfuerzo por encontrar la forma de disfrutar de autonomía individual y expresión creativa.

Palabras clave: Philip Freneau, fantasía, libertad, imaginación, Princeton.

1. Introduction

Notwithstanding his relative obscurity in contemporary criticism, Philip Freneau has been credited as "one of the founders of American literature" (Sayre 2017: 59) and "an author who was inextricably bound up in the political and aesthetic identity of the newly formed United States" (Gailey 2015: 14). Also known as the "Poet of the Revolution" and, by some accounts, as the "Father of American Poetry", Freneau flourished during the Revolutionary War and early national period, when he devoted his work to a staunch republican and liberal agenda in the service of patriotism and, subsequently, the French Revolution and the Jeffersonian-Republican party. At the heart of his literary as well as journalistic writings lay a profound concern with the nature of liberty and imagination, and the constraints besetting creative exploration and individual self-assertion in the newly founded republic (Broderick 2003: 7-12; Daniel 2009: 66-72; Anderson 2015: 208-213).

In 1770, just two years after his admission to the College of New Jersey (now Princeton), Philip Freneau composed "The Power of Fancy". Like Phillis Wheatley's "On Imagination" (1773), the poem examines the liberating potency inherent in the imagination (or fancy) over the poetic mind and the creative process the power

of fancy appears to enable.[1] Foremost in the text lies the idea that fancy, the "regent of the mind" (1786: l. 4), is a superior faculty of cognition, divine in nature and unlimited in scope. The "spark" (ll. 5, 7) where humankind may trace "[r]esemblance to the immortal race" (l. 10), fancy seems to provide the poet privileged access to an alternative mode of perception, one that allows him to escape the limitations of "[s]ense" (l. 82) by exposing him, "in vision" (l. 106), to "[n]oble fabrics" (l. 23), "livelier colours" (l. 108) and "[e]ndless images" (l. 143) of "[i]deal objects" (l. 145). Prima facie, such an experience would appear a form of liberation, physical as well as cognitive in nature. On careful consideration, however, engaging the power of fancy affords the poet nothing but a new form of submission, for fancy, reluctant to let him roam at will, assumes not only a mediatory but also a supervisory role in the poet's journey to her "painted realms" (l. 142). Echoing Wheatley's "roving *Fancy*" (1988: l. 9), which released the poetic mind only to have it bound into "soft captivity" (1988: l. 12), Freneau's fancy comes across as a double-edged sword — one that provides the poet with an experience of creative transcendence that, paradoxically, can be enjoyed only within set constraints.

There is much in "The Power of Fancy" that may seem, a priori, puzzling, for rarely is the imagination conceived as a constraining or, for that matter, constrained mode of perception in contemporary popular use. Revolutionary Americans, however, remained deeply at odds as to how to respond to the potential for creative liberation and transcendence often ascribed to the imaginative faculty, and part of the reason for this conflict, at least for collegians like Freneau, resided in the contents underpinning higher education syllabi during their formative years — a period that unfolded against the backdrop of the crisis that would soon lead to the founding of the US. From his admission in 1768 to his graduation in 1771, the soon-to-be "Poet of the Revolution" was exposed to an ambitious program of curricular and extracurricular reforms, primarily designed to spread across campus "a spirit of liberty and free inquiry" (Princeton University 2010: 237). This course of study would lead the poet to embrace a spirit of resistance and protest during and after his college years, but it would also fuel a longstanding concern regarding the possibility for individual autonomy and creative expression in a time of increasing politicisation. It is the aim of this article to explore this conflict and to shed light on how the poet's college experience influenced his take on the imagination. Firstly, this study considers several key features of late-colonial Princeton's curricular and extracurricular organisation, with a particular focus on how it influenced students' approach to civic life and creative liberty. Subsequently, it examines the poet's response to Princeton's curriculum by analysing his best-known work on the subject, "The Power of Fancy", including in the analysis a representative selection of other prominent eighteenth-century philosophical and literary texts on the topic. In so doing, this paper reveals the

ideological foundations framing the poet's conflicted approach to the imagination, which, under the influence of Princeton's instruction and eighteenth-century convention, became a contested site in his quest for creative autonomy and individual self-assertion.

2. Princeton and Late-Colonial Higher Education

Philip Freneau's formative years were certainly exceptional. His was a time of revolution, and nowhere was this more apparent than at the college where he spent three years studying during the tenure of Reverend John Witherspoon, Princeton's sixth president and soon-to-be signer of the Declaration of Independence. A hotbed of revolutionary sentiment, late-colonial Princeton was no ordinary college but, rather, one of the most politicised institutions of higher education across the Atlantic seaboard. "No other college", as John Murrin notes, "was so nearly unanimous in support of the patriot cause. Trustees, faculty, and nearly all alumni and students rallied to the Revolution" (1996: xxi). However, Princeton was not the only college whose students (or faculty) openly challenged Britain's policies in the 1760s and 1770s — nor could this be the case, considering how far-reaching resistance to such reforms proved to be. Just like colonials from Boston to Savannah were beginning to challenge parliamentary abuse, students from Dartmouth to William and Mary were protesting on and off campus, burning tea, letters and effigies, boycotting local retailers, wearing homespun, and organising debates on subjects as varied as "Monarchy", "Patriotism", and "Liberty" (Robson 1985: 57-102; Rudy 1996: 4-18; Hoeveler 2002: 297-302; Geiger 2015: 76-87). In all these protests, Princeton remained at the vanguard, serving as one of the foremost contributors to the upcoming revolution by providing students with a privileged space to engage with ongoing polemics. For all intents and purposes, late-colonial Princeton was "the premier Patriot college" (Robson 1985: 70).

Arguably, the reason for this lay with the numerous reforms that Reverend John Witherspoon introduced during his presidency at Princeton (1768-1794). As Gideon Mailer states, "Witherspoon realized that rising tensions between Britain and the American colonies called for special attention to the instruction of young men [...] [He] believed that educated young men were increasingly likely to assume positions of public prominence in 'the present state of things'" (2017: 182). Like Aaron Burr, Sr., Jonathan Edwards and other prominent former presidents, John Witherspoon refashioned the course of study at the College of New Jersey to instill in his students a spirit of intellectual restlessness and critical inquiry that enabled them to assess and partake in the ongoing discussions. As he

argued in a 1772 address, "I would not be understood to say that a seminary of learning ought to enter deeply into political contention [...] But surely a constitution which naturally tends to produce a spirit of liberty and independence [...] is infinitely preferable to the dead and vapid state of one whose very existence depends upon the nod of those in power" (2015a: 111-112). It was this spirit that, during his administration, led him to enrich Princeton's curricular and extracurricular structure, expand the holdings of the university library, improve teaching methods and materials, and enhance academic standards — a set of reforms aimed to foster among his student body an interest in civic life and public service (Sloan 1971: 110-145; Dix 1978: 41-53; Harrison 1980: xxx-xxxii; Robson 1985: 58-74; Daiches 1991: 167; Hoeveler 2002: 297-298; Longaker 2007: 185-191; Miller 2010: 66-70; Mailer 2017: 212-214).

The imagination, for this reason, remained central to Princeton's curricular structure. Even though the concept may sound foreign to contemporary political and social discussion, British and American thinkers had been writing about the connection between public life and the imagination at least since the seventeenth century, in a direct line binding John Locke and Thomas Hobbes to Alexander Hamilton and Benjamin Rush (Holbo 1997: 22-25; Torre 2007: 136-142; Schlutz 2009: 13-14; Geuss 2010: 67-69; Frank 2013: 48-55). This explains the prominence the imaginative faculty had in the lectures given during Witherspoon's administration, which elaborated on the teachings and writings of the British Enlightenment. This tradition, admittedly, did not afford Princetonians a simple definition of the concept. Joseph Addison did not err when he argued that "[t]here are few Words in the *English* Language which are employed in a more loose and uncircumscribed Sense than those of the *Fancy* and the *Imagination*" (1982: 368, emphasis in the original). The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries produced a myriad of competing articulations of the imagination in the fields of philosophy, aesthetic theory, literature and medicine, to name but a few. Notwithstanding the inherent diversity that defined the concept, it is possible to discern in the writings of the Enlightenment a transition with which Witherspoon's students became familiar both in his newly founded courses on "Moral Philosophy" and "Eloquence", and in the new volumes added to the university library (Charvat 1936: 35; Martin 1961: 3-27; Sloan 1971: 103-145; Dix 1978: 41-53; Daiches 1991: 167-172; Court 2001: 30-33; Hoeveler 2002: 297-302; Miller 2010: 67-76; Cahill 2012: 13, 25-26; Geiger 2015: 72-74; Mailer 2017: 182-214). "Prior to the eighteenth century", as Michael Saler notes, "many Western thinkers defined the imagination as the mediating faculty between the senses and the understanding", a mediatory power that operated primarily as an assistant or "subordinate to human reason" (2011: 199). Up to the mid through late eighteenth century, the imaginative faculty was primarily conceived as a

secondary mode of cognition and perception, which, like memory, remained dependent on, and subservient to, reason. In essence, the imagination was regarded as a mediatory power — the mind's capacity to produce complex ideas and images out of the combination of simple ideas, memories and sensible stimuli. John Locke aptly phrased this idea when he wrote that, "[a]s simple ideas are observed to exist in several combinations united together; so the mind has a power to consider several of them united together, as one idea" (1997: 159). Such was the power ascribed to the imagination, to reconcile or, rather, mediate between a set of experiences and stimuli to provide cognitive and perceptual unity.

Through the imagination, it was assumed, the mind was capable of cognition, insofar as it enabled the individual to establish mental links between ideas. As the eighteenth century progressed, however, the imagination came to be seen less as a mediatory power and more as a creative force. Rather than depending on past experiences and sensible stimuli, it began to be conceived as a faculty enabled to establish associations conducive to ideas not previously encountered in the sensible realm. As Christine Holbo explains, "the imagination was itself coming to seem, not a faculty of mediation and moderation, but a revolutionary force challenging all limits" (1997: 23). Whereas most early conceptualizations of the imagination had underlined its dependence on external stimuli, from the mid through late eighteenth century, it was elevated to serve as a creative and liberating power, presumably equal in status to reason. David Hume would hence conclude that "[n]othing is more free than the imagination of man; and though it cannot exceed that original stock of ideas furnished by the internal and external senses, it has unlimited power of mixing, compounding, separating, and dividing these ideas, in all the varieties of fiction and vision" (2007b: 47). Even though the imagination remained primarily associative in its operations over the mind, in the second half of the eighteenth century, it was broadly assumed that it afforded the individual the capacity to establish an endless variety of cognitive associations, serving as the precondition for the individual to partake in a specific mode of perceptual liberation and transcendence (Engell 1981: 33-50, 65-77; Holbo 1997: 22-25; Schlutz 2009: 5-14; Cahill 2012: 39-41; Holochwost 2020: 6-11).

Such an experience, however, was vexing for eighteenth-century thinkers given its (alleged) potential for private and public disorder. In discussing the relevance of the concept of the imagination in Western philosophy, John Sallis explains that, ever since classical antiquity, discussions and debates on the imaginative faculty have been traditionally framed within these ambivalent terms: "Ever again philosophy attests that imagination has a double effect, a double directionality, bringing about illumination and elevation, on the one hand, and deception and corruption, on the other, bringing them about perhaps even in such utter

proximity that neither can, with complete assurance, be decisively separated from the other" (2000: 46). This potential for liberation and creativity, while inspiring much praise, sparked the revolutionary generation's anxieties concerning the possibility that, were it to establish associations between ideas without limits and restraints, the imagination could turn into a delusive and corrupting influence. British and American philosophers often gave voice to these anxieties throughout the eighteenth century. David Hume, who, as stated above, celebrated elsewhere the imagination's liberating and creative potency, warned, somewhat contradictorily, that "[n]othing is more dangerous to reason than the flights of the imagination, and nothing has been the occasion of more mistakes among philosophers" (2007a: 174). Rather than as the key to obtain epistemological certainty via conceptual association and perceptual transcendence, the imagination was also depicted occasionally as a potentially deranging and delusive power, which could drive the experiencing self to establish connections between ideas that could prove to be not only false, but also harmful for the individual as well as for society. In enabling the self to escape from the constraints of sensible stimuli and, by extension, reason, it could also serve as a foundation for epistemological confusion, psychological distress and social instability, all resulting from fancy's unregulated and, hence, potentially delusive and deranging operations (Martin 1961: 107-108; Engell 1981: 51-62; Holbo 1997: 23-24; Cahill 2012: 165-166; Frank 2013: 52-55; Holochwost 2020: 20).

President Witherspoon was not oblivious to these fears and anxieties. Rather, the anti-imaginistic prejudice that informed eighteenth-century writings on the imaginative faculty dominated his lectures, where he endeavored to instruct his students on the means to contain the potential excesses inherent in the operation of the imagination — an exercise he equated to a form of civic duty. In addressing an audience, Witherspoon argued, public writers and speakers should partake in "an exercise of self-denial" (2015b: 270) and assume "[d]ignity of character and disinterestedness" (305). As he explained, "it is not easy to procure attention unless there is some degree of character preserved; and indeed, wherever there is a high opinion of the candor and sincerity of the speaker, it will give an inconceivable weight to his sentiments in debate" (305). Because they were expected to be exemplary civic leaders, Princetonians were discouraged both from showing excessive interest and passion, and from confusing the provinces of private introspection and self-expression with those of public life. As Witherspoon concluded, "[t]hey who reason on the selfish scheme, as usual, resolve all into private interest" (2015c: 188). This, in turn, explained his call for imaginative restraint. Instead of nourishing "a warm fancy" (2015b: 291), he argued, public writers and speakers were to be defined by their capacity to restrain any potentially subjective mode of expression and perception, and "keep [their] thoughts, desires,

and affections in due moderation" (2015c: 183). Even though he acknowledged the potential benefits inherent to "the creative power of fancy" (2015b: 252), he advised against its use. In addressing an audience, instead, students were instructed to assume a civic-oriented stance, presenting themselves as disinterested representatives of the public good, able to sublimate their private interests, and willing to exercise not full creative autonomy but, rather, what Terence Martin (1961) referred to as an "instructed vision".

3. Praising Fancy: Perceptual Liberation and Associationism

Philip Freneau's college poems bear the imprint of late-colonial Princeton's curriculum and, as such, they reflect the roots of a conflicted poetics, especially as regards the physical and aesthetic limitations Princetonians were instructed to exercise in conjuring up the imagination. Marcus Daniel does not err when he writes that "Freneau discovered politics as well as poetry at Princeton" (2009: 67). To this list, however, one should add the anti-imaginistic tradition that informed the authors with whom he was also becoming acquainted at the college. From Joseph Addison and John Locke to Francis Hutchinson and David Hume, the poet grew increasingly familiar with a plethora of voices that insisted that the imaginative faculty, the key to creative and perceptual liberation, was to be commended and praised but also used with utmost caution. This ambivalence arguably became central to early writings like "The Power of Fancy", where the poet addressed the constraints that hindered his poetic pursuits — a quest for meaning to realise "the Romantic sentiment of creative freedom" (Anderson 2015: 211). Such freedom and the possibility for the imaginative faculty to realise its potential lie at the center of the text, reflecting the multiple strands of conflict as well as the course of study Freneau worked through during his formative years.

At first glance, "The Power of Fancy" (1770) reads as a prototypical celebratory paean to the imagination, similar in nature and scope to the writings of British and American authors in the eighteenth century, from Mark Akenside's "The Pleasures of Imagination" (1744) and Joseph Warton's "To Fancy" (1746) to Phillis Wheatley's "On Imagination" (1773). Like these authors, the poet opens his text with an extended description of the imagination, which, like his predecessors, he personifies and genders as a female.[2] "WAKEFUL, vagrant, restless thing,/ Ever wandering on the wing" (1786: ll. 1-2), fancy is represented as an active and dynamic principle, "wondrous" (l. 3) and "unknown" (l. 6) in its workings, and vested with divine authority, presiding over the mind as a "regent" (l. 4), a role the poet assigns by virtue of her celestial origin. Twice referred to as a "spark" (ll. 5, 7), the imagination is rendered as a heavenly power, a privileged

mode of perception that affords humankind intellectual and spiritual elevation, and a distinctive creative capacity likening the poet to the divine: "THIS spark of bright, celestial flame,/ From Jove's seraphic altar came,/ And hence alone in man we trace,/ Resemblance to the immortal race" (ll. 7-10). The terms in which fancy is addressed echo eighteenth-century writings on the imagination, which was often considered the central element of cognition in philosophical and literary discussion because of its presumed capacity to link ideas and experiences into (complex) thought (Engell 1981: 3-10; Holbo 1997: 22-25; Schlutz 2009: 3-14; Cahill 2012: 1-5; Holochwost 2020: 3-11). The primacy accorded to fancy above other modes of cognition and perception in the period explains the reference to the imagination's divine nature and regal authority in the poem — a depiction that reinstates an oft-trodden portrayal that can be readily found in multiple other renditions of the matter with which Freneau became familiar at Princeton.[3]

Presenting himself as a loyal subject at the service of the imaginative faculty, the poet completes his celebration with a detailed exploration of the terms whereby the imagination energises or, rather, galvanises the mind. This power, the poet intimates, relies on its unique capacity to establish conceptual links between ideas. This much is suggested when the poet describes in the opening lines of the text the whole of creation as the product of divine fancy combining preexisting ideas into a complex and cohesive unit: "What is this *globe*, these *lands*, and *seas*,/ And *heat*, and *cold*, and *flowers*, and *trees*,/ And *life*, and *death*, and *beast*, and *man*,/ And *time*—that with the *sun* began—/ But thoughts on reason's scale combin'd,/ Ideas of the Almighty mind?" (1786: ll. 15-20, emphasis in the original). Like their creator's, human fancy realises its creative power through the establishment of trains of associations between "[e]ndless images of things" (l. 143) and "[i]deal objects" (l. 145), refashioned into "[n]oble fabrics" (l. 23), new "shape[s]" (l. 78) and "livelier colours" (l. 108) in her "bright, celestial flame" (l. 7). Freneau's fancy, it follows, is of the associationist kind, and, as such, conforms to the prevailing eighteenth-century theory that the imagination creates new ideas by combining memories, experiences and sensible stimuli. This theory, it should be noted, had a particular following among Scottish philosophers from the "Common Sense" school, whom Princetonians studied as part of President Witherspoon's course on moral philosophy. Through these thinkers, Freneau and his classmates learned about the imagination's boundless capacity for cognitive linking but also about the potential corruption to which excessive imaginative associations could lead the mind (Martin 1961: 3-27; Lesley 1970: 90-126; Holbo 1997: 22-27; Court 2001: 30-33; Craig 2007: 46-59; Cahill 2012: 25-26; Holochwost 2020: 3-11). This explains the poet's move to include reason as the arbiter whose "scale" (Freneau 1786: l. 19) assesses the products of divine imagination and, one would assume, the human mind: fancy, the text implies, creates through cumulative and continued association, yet under supervision.

This point is not to be taken lightly, for it directs the reader to one of the central tensions the text takes up as a theme. In the poem, after all, fancy does not submit to but, rather, resists control, which it can do quite successfully and with ease due to its perpetual, accelerated motion. "Sense", as the speaker asserts, "can never follow her" (1786: l. 82), for only fancy may strike her "SWIFT" (l. 57), though "unseen" (l. 22), course through the "painted realms" (l. 142) where, notwithstanding reason's efforts, she holds sway as the undisputed "regent of the mind" (l. 4). To prove this point, the central section of the text elaborates in detail on a "vision" (l. 106), mediated by the power of fancy and phrased in terms of an imaginary journey around the world, in which the poet, both royal subject and travel companion, joins fancy on an eastbound flight from the Atlantic seaboard to California by way of Europe, India and the Pacific Islands. Freneau's college writings often elaborate on such journeys. *The Rising Glory of America*, too, opens with a cursory view of major locations associated with Western civilisation, from Ancient Egypt to Britain through Greece and Rome, only to end up asserting that the text will sing "[a] Theme more new" (1772: l. 24), the rise of a new imperial seat in America. Exploiting one of the most recurrent tropes in late-colonial political literature, *translatio imperii*, the text vindicated America's prospective centrality in the global theater of nations by claiming that the seat of power had historically moved westwards (McWilliams 1988: 159-160; Wertheimer 2009: 21-22; Giles 2012: 142-143; Adams 2013: 394). Though resorting to the journey trope, "The Power of Fancy" strikes a different tone, thematically as well as geographically. James Engell suggested as much when he noted that the text "is a progress poem in reverse, a stunning redirection of the usual British theme of the progress of poetry westward […] The reverse progress [comes across as] a continuous eastering, an 'orienting', until fancy returns to the New World on the California coast" (1981: 194). Reversing the westward course of empires for an eastbound flight, Freneau subverts the foundations animating late-colonial political writings as he reorients the journey trope in a move that bespeaks fancy's power to transcend limitations.

This power becomes conspicuous in the journey that fancy and the poet undertake, itself a trope occasionally found in eighteenth-century poetry. David Mallet's *The Excursion* also has the reader follow a journey where fancy takes the poet around and beyond the globe: "*Fancy*, with me range *Earth*'s extended Space,/ Surveying Nature's Works: and thence aloft,/ Spread to superior *Worlds* thy bolder Wing,/ Unweary'd in thy Flight" (1728: ll. 6-9, emphasis in the original). Like Mallet, Freneau's journey with fancy is conducted both on the sensible and on the noumenal worlds. Engaging the imagination, the poet claims to partake in an experience of creative transcendence where the barriers that would otherwise define phenomenal existence collapse, enabling the poet to

perceive existence at large. Thanks to fancy, the poet may not only explore the world but also "[l]isten[ø] to the chimy tune/ Of the bright, harmonious spheres" (1786: ll. 30-31), a reference to the Pythagorean belief that the movement of celestial bodies followed a harmonious arrangement, which also informed the organisation of the cosmos. Fancy, in that sense, affords the poet an experience not far removed from what Thomas Akenside's "The Pleasures of Imagination" identified as the imaginative faculty's capacity for ontological and epistemological certainty: "[F]or with thee comes/ The guide, the guardian of their lovely sports,/ Majestic TRUTH; and where TRUTH deigns to come,/ Her sister LIBERTY will not be far" (2015: ll. 21-24). Freneau's fancy, like Akenside's, affords a privileged mode of perceptual liberation and creative self-assertion, which grants the poet the power to ascertain and alter the order of possibility. In the text, fancy comes across as a creative as well as regenerative force, a "spark" (1786: ll. 5, 7) that galvanises "[n]oble fabrics" (l. 23) and "[e]ndless images" (l. 143) into being while also reenergising "faded scenes" (l. 101) into "livelier colours" (l. 108). Elevated by fancy, the poet depicts himself as an agentive force who can perceive and recast reality at whim — an idea that anticipates Percy Bysshe Shelley's claim that "[p]oets are the unacknowledged legislators of the World" (2018: 883).

4. Taming Fancy: Creative Autonomy and Imaginative Restraints

The poet's response to the power that fancy affords is presumptively positive. Presiding over the creative process, fancy is the recipient of much praise and commendation. This image, however, is consistently, though subtly, questioned as the poet begins to detect flaws in fancy's operations. In the conclusion to the text, as a case in point, the speaker claims as follows: "Fancy, to thy power I owe/ Half my happiness below" (Freneau 1786: ll. 147-148). The quantifier "half" in the passage invites discussion, for it is not rare to locate similar suggestions of fancy's partial or, rather, defective nature. As he celebrates the experience of perceptual transcendence that fancy makes possible, he yet again suggests that, through her mediation, he can "[l]isten[ø] to the chimy tune/ Of the bright, harmonious spheres" (ll. 30-31), which he is nonetheless quick to qualify as a flawed endeavor, for he can listen only to "[n]otes that half distract the mind" (l. 40). The idea the text advances is that fancy affords an experience that cannot be fully enjoyed, as if the imagination ultimately failed to achieve the elevation the poet seeks. John Keats' "Ode to a Nightingale" elaborates on a similar idea as the poem, also a vision mediated by fancy, concludes, "Adieu! the fancy cannot cheat so well/ As she is

fam'd to do, deceiving elf" (2018: ll. 73-74). The idea that fancy is deceitful, which was prevalent in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century writings, is one that, admittedly, Freneau would address more explicitly in later publications. Like Keats, however, the poet presents the imagination as a limited and, to some extent, limiting power, which brings about a much less gratifying experience than it first appeared.

The reason for this flawed performance, the poet intimates, has to do not so much with an inherent defect as with the terms in which fancy exerts its power. The central section of the poem provides evidence as to the underlying power dynamic that animates the relationship between the imagination and the speaker, and his reaction to what he perceives as an oppressive demand for subservience. As the "regent of the mind" (Freneau 1786: l. 4), fancy expects the poet to submit to her command, forcing him to follow her lead on the allegorical voyage they both conduct in her "painted realms" (l. 142). Rather than moving alongside him and enabling him to explore her domains at will, fancy controls the path as well as the pace of the journey, so much so that the speaker struggles to follow and is occasionally forced to ask his guide for assistance: "Lo! she leads me wide and far,/ Sense can never follow her—/ Shape thy course o'er land and sea,/ Help me to keep pace with thee" (ll. 81-84). That the poet struggles to follow fancy seems like an interesting point to make but one that should not come as a surprise, for fancy "[b]ears" (l. 111), "[l]eads" (ll. 35, 81, 113), "[p]laces" (l. 116), and, in essence, drags him around the world, supervising the poet's exposure to her "[i] deal objects" (l. 145) and, hence, controlling the extent of his creative potential. Literally carried by fancy, the poet comes across on closer examination not as an agentive force but, rather, as a passive observer at the mercy of the "Fickle Goddess" (l. 65) he acknowledged as regent in the opening lines.

It is difficult not to see in the poem traces of the same conflict Wheatley took up as a theme in her own take on the matter. In "On Imagination", the poet begins what reads at first as an ode to the imagination with a praise to a faculty she also identifies in royal terms as an "imperial queen" (1988: l. 1). For the two poets, the imagination presides as a monarch over the mind, enabling the experiencing self to transcend sensible limitations by releasing him (or her) in visions that, as Wheatley puts it, "amaze th' unbounded soul" (l. 22). The terms of reference the poets use become telling when one considers the context in which the texts were composed. As colonial resistance to imperial authority spread, Freneau and Wheatley see a monarch at the helm of human cognition and perception — a move that leads them to struggle with the same tensions late-colonial Americans experienced with power and authority beyond the domains of poetry. These struggles manifest in "On Imagination" in what Wheatley, much like Freneau, identifies as the imagination's insistent demands for submission: though seemingly

a liberating force, the imagination ultimately attempts to "bind" the mind with "silken fetters" (l. 11) into a "soft captivity" (l. 12). Edward Cahill provides a lucid analysis of how this conflict manifests in Wheatley's text, writing that,

> [i]nsofar as the "soft captivity" of aesthetic pleasure enables liberty of imagination, it might be read as a bold expression of abstract liberty and a dangerous form of self-authorizing individualism, especially for a slave. But insofar as the poem emphasizes the imagination's authoritative role as the "ruler" of her "subject-passions", it functions as precisely the kind of Cato-like bracketing of selfhood demanded by republican virtue. (2012: 60)

This contradiction, which Wheatley veils in what reads at first as a paean to the imaginative faculty, remains central to her approach to the imagination, and parallels Freneau's own rendering.

Like in "On Imagination", in "The Power of Fancy", the imagination is not presented merely as a benevolent assistant but as a despotic figure, insofar as she allows the poet to participate in an experience that requires him to submit to her guidance and command. Although quick to engage and praise her power, the poet, aware of fancy's demands, seems unwilling to endorse full submission and, instead, attempts to reclaim authority by commanding, rather than obeying, fancy, such as when he demands through accumulated imperatives that she "[w]aft [him] far to southern isles" (Freneau 1786: l. 73), "[s]hape [her] course o'er land and sea" (l. 83), and, as the text concludes, "stop, and rove no more" (l. 124). There is an element of predictability in the fact that a British colonist, on the brink of the Revolutionary War, purports to rebel against a figure explicitly associated with monarchic authority — a figure that, contrary to his contemporaries, Freneau astutely identifies not as a "queen" but as a "regent", curtailing her claim to absolute power.[4] Though still carried by the imaginative faculty, the poet resists full submission to her authority, managing to redirect the course of the creative process originally spurred by the power of fancy so that it continues to unfold on his own terms. Fancy and the poet's struggle for power, however, is never fully solved, so much so that, by the end of the text, they continue to vie for creative authority. This may explain the poem's concluding lines, which, to some extent, come across in this light as a call for reconciliation: "Come, O come—perceiv'd by none,/ You and I will walk alone" (ll. 153-154). This is not the only instance in which the poet tries to appease fancy and encourage her to join him, not as his regent but as his equal. Earlier in the text, the poet urged fancy neither to command nor to obey but to walk alongside him so that, working in tandem, they might "wandering both be lost" (l. 119) and retire "to some lonely dome" (l. 35), where the creative process, a theme of the poem, may go on unmediated by external or, for that matter, internal constraints.

"The Power of Fancy", hence, points to a potential compromise between fancy and the poet's competing demands for authority — a compromise defined by a foundation of shared sovereignty. Such a compromise remains elusive, as does the possibility for the poet to exert the power of fancy without restraint. Rather than a "conventional view of imagination" as a "cooperative" faculty (2005: 66), to use a phrase from Annie Finch, Freneau ends up taking a highly ambivalent position on the limits of the imagination, which becomes a restraining force precisely when the individual attempts to conjure up its creative and liberating potential for a private purpose. Given the nature of late-colonial Princeton's curricular and extracurricular organisation, that the poet should have remained conflicted as to the private application of the creative powers of the mind may come as no surprise. Witherspoon explicitly argued in his "Lectures on Eloquence" that, when "kept in great moderation" (2015b: 291), and when directed to serve a public cause, the imaginative faculty could have a positive influence but, otherwise, "[i]magination is not to be much used" (2015b: 291). Elaborating on the anti-imaginistic discourse that informed much of eighteenth-century Anglo-American philosophical, literary and aesthetic thought, Witherspoon exposed his student body to a civic paideia that problematised the pursuit of private modes of self-representation and expression. In texts like "The Power of Fancy", Freneau addresses the extent of its creative expectations and, hence, questions the burden and limitations it imposed on the poetic mind.

This query is phrased, however obliquely, in the context of a battle of the sexes, a power struggle between the male and female forces operating in the text, namely, the poet and fancy. The explicit gendering of fancy as a female figure in the opening lines and the ensuing battle for autonomy that pits the imaginative faculty against the poet, an implicitly male figure, is not rare among eighteenth-century writings. Barbara C. Freeman examined how this dynamic informed the works of Immanuel Kant, particularly his understanding of the sublime, which, for him, "presupposes an interplay between two highly personified faculties of the mind, the imagination and the reason. This dyad is in fact a barely disguised hierarchy that provides the grounds for debasing one half of the couple at the expense of the other" (1997: 69). As detailed in his *Critique of Judgment* (1790), Freeman continues, "the attainment of the Kantian sublime is dependent upon a sacrifice; its cause is the collapse of the imagination's capacity to connect empirical reality with the realm of abstract ideality" (1997: 69-70). This collapse unfolds in Kant's discussion as the imagination (gendered as female) battles for control with reason (gendered as male), a process that required the latter's victory to enable the experiencing self's perceptual and cognitive transcendence via the sublime. As Freeman concludes, "what is at stake is a certain violence that imposes a hierarchical relation whose paradigm is achieved through a self-sacrifice by the putatively weaker partner" (72).

This dynamic, which would become prevalent in the writings of the Romantics, is anticipated in "The Power of Fancy". Unlike his counterparts in Europe, Freneau's take on the matter fails to bring about the collapse that Kant envisioned. Admittedly, the dynamic established between the female and male drives in Freneau's poem is not one that can be pinned down to an allegorical rendition of imaginative and rational forces in battle. Be that as it may, the break that would result in the self's liberation in the Kantian tradition via sublime transcendence does not occur in Freneau, who, despite his resistance, endeavors to find common ground with fancy and negotiate a compromise, which never fully materialises neither in this text nor in later writings.[5] In the absence of this break perhaps lies the poet's inability to transcend the barriers of the imagination, attain creative autonomy, and escape from, as Wheatley would put it, fancy's "silken fetters" (1988: l. 11).

5. Concluding Remarks

Princeton University Library holds a copy of the eighth volume of *The Works of Alexander Pope* (1757), formerly part of the Freneau library. The volume contains a collection of the letters written by the British poet, in the margins of which Freneau scribbled occasional lines and reflections. Foremost among these marginalia lies a brief stanza located below Alexander Pope's letter to Richard Steele, the co-founder of the influential British magazine *The Spectator*, dated November 7, 1712. In the letter, Pope provides a translation of Emperor Hadrian's famed last words as recorded in *Historia Augusta*, where the Roman leader addresses his soul as the "pleasing companion of [his] body" and compares, rather melancholy, "[its] former wit and humour" to its current "trembling, fearful, and pensive" state (Freneau 1774: 228). Elaborating on Pope's translation, Freneau noted what comes across as a revision of "The Power of Fancy" in the margins. The fragment, which bears the date "1774", reads as follows: "Little pleasing wandring [sic] mind/ Guest and companion soft and kind/ Now to what regions will you go/ All pale and stiff and naked too/ And just no more as you were wont to do". Far from serving as the galvanising power conjured by the original poem, the imaginative faculty stands, like Emperor Hadrian's soul, in a state of decay. "[P]ale", "stiff" and "naked" (l. 4), the poet's "mind" (l. 1) or, rather, fancy has lost its vigor, leading the poet to wonder whether it can still exert its liberating and creative power as it was "wont to do" (l. 5) or, were it not to be the case, then, "to what regions will [it] go" (l. 3).

Even though the fragment was composed on a later date, its connection to "The Power of Fancy" is telling, insofar as the faculty with which the poet had struggled to come to terms during his formative years has seen its condition worsen after his

graduation. Echoing the calls for union and resistance then spreading across the Thirteen Colonies, the imperial crisis brought profound politicisation to Princeton, leading President Witherspoon to introduce an ambitious program of curricular and extracurricular reforms to raise a generation prepared and desirous to resolve the crisis. This civic paideia, however, remained a source of much conflict for the poet, whose college writings suggest multiple layers of tension underpinning his response to the demands late-colonial Princeton made for prospective public writers. In his early writings, the poet envisioned the possibility to escape from such demands through the mediation of the power of fancy. Rather than affording perceptual transcendence, however, fancy partly releases the mind, but it does so by anchoring him to a frame of reference where his creative impulses are tamed under her command. The type of fancy the poet praises but also resists in the text, in this light, responds to that "instructed vision" (Martin 1961) that Princetonians were encouraged and educated to endorse — a controlled imaginative power that Freneau fails to embrace and, instead, contests, though to no avail. In later years, the tension between the impulses that dominate college writings like "The Power of Fancy" would rapidly escalate, forcing the poet to choose between writing in the service of the American Revolution and finding a space to assert his own creative autonomy as the country came into being.[6] It was at Princeton, nonetheless, that the "Poet of the Revolution" first encountered the problem of the imagination, and it was the experiences at this institution that laid the foundations upon which his later writings would address the potential for creative autonomy afforded by the power of fancy — a power he both admired and resented throughout his career.

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Notes

1. The terms "imagination" and "fancy" have a complex history. For most of the eighteenth century, both referred to the same faculty. Although the foundations upon which nineteenth-century thinkers would mark the distinction between them were introduced in the eighteenth century, in general terms, they were virtually interchangeable by the time Freneau attended Princeton (Engell 1981: 172-183; Pyle 1995: 38-39; Cahill 2012: 246; Costelloe 2013: 195; Holochwost 2020: 9-10). This paper, accordingly, uses these terms interchangeably.

2. From classical to early modern literature, the imagination was gendered either as male or female. Beginning in the early modern period, the representation of the imagination as a woman became increasingly consolidated, becoming standard practice in late-colonial writing. See Maura Smyth (2017) for an extensive analysis.

3. . The opening lines in Mark Akenside's "The Pleasures of Imagination" provide a case in point, considering that the poet dubs fancy the "smiling *queen* of every tuneful breast" (2015: l. 9, emphasis added). Likewise, Joseph Warton's "To Fancy" introduces the imagination as a "crown'd" (2015: l. 12) figure, a "Goddess" (l. 49), later acknowledged to rule the poetic mind as "queen" (l. 129).

4. In context, the term "regent" affords two possible readings: a generic term for a person who rules or governs (OED n. 1a) and a specific term for a person vested with authority by or on behalf of another for a period of time (OED n. 2). Unlike Wheatley's "imperial queen" (1988: l. 1), Freneau's terminology affords the possibility of rebellion because fancy's authority is as temporary as a regent's.

5. Evidence supporting this idea lies in the terms framing the poet's relation to "The Power of Fancy". The full text was issued only in the 1786 edition. In the 1795 and 1809 editions, it was extensively revised and separated into two texts, "Ode to Fancy" and "Fancy's Ramble", which omit most of the central conflict of the poem. Rutgers University Library holds Freneau's personal copy of the 1786 edition (RUL, "Freneau Collection", Association Volumes, Item 8, Box 1). "The Power of Fancy" is almost entirely crossed out, which suggests how conflicted the poet remained in later years both with the text and with the ideas he tried yet failed to reconcile.

6. See, for example, "Mac Swiggen; a Satire" (1775), "The Beauties of Santa Cruz" (1779) and "The House of Night, a Vision" (1779).

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TAINTED BY (WHITE) TRASH: CLASS, RESPECTABILITY AND THE LANGUAGE OF WASTE IN DOROTHY ALLISON AND BONNIE JO CAMPBELL

CORROMPIDO POR LA BASURA (BLANCA): CLASE, RESPETABILIDAD Y EL LENGUAJE DE LOS DESECHOS EN DOROTHY ALLISON Y BONNIE JO CAMPBELL

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Abstract

This article addresses the depiction of class, whiteness, dirt and respectability in the short stories "Meanest Woman Ever Left Tennessee", by Dorothy Allison, and "Boar Taint", by Bonnie Jo Campbell, from the perspective of waste studies and whiteness studies. Characters in these stories erect discursive barriers between themselves and others, deemed 'white trash' — a pervasive stigmatype connected to the working poor experience in the US. By enforcing hierarchies that conflate cleanliness and respectability, these characters seek to prove their adherence to unmarked forms of whiteness while resisting assimilation into the white trash category. The negotiation of (intra-)class divisions, especially between middle and working classes, exposes the malleability of social hierarchies predicated on relationships of waste. In the end, the protagonists' rejection of white respectability re-signifies their association with waste and leads them to find pride and community in their working-class occupations, without necessarily embracing a purported white trash identity.

Keywords: white trash, waste studies, whiteness, respectability, working class.

Resumen

Este artículo aborda la descripción de las relaciones de clase, la blanquitud (*whiteness*), la suciedad y la respetabilidad en los cuentos "Meanest Woman Ever

Left Tennessee", de Dorothy Allison y "Boar Taint", de Bonnie Jo Campbell, desde la perspectiva de los *waste studies* y los estudios de blanquitud. Los personajes en estas historias erigen barreras discursivas entre ellos mismos y otros a quienes consideran "basura blanca" — un "estigmatipo" dominante conectado a la experiencia de la clase trabajadora pobre en los Estados Unidos. Al imponer jerarquías que fusionan higiene y respetabilidad, estos personajes tratan de demostrar su adherencia a formas no marcadas de blanquitud mientras resisten ser asimilados a la categoría "basura blanca". La negociación de divisiones de clase, especialmente entre las clases media y trabajadora, revela la maleabilidad de las categorías sociales basadas en relaciones de desecho. Al final, el rechazo de las protagonistas a la respetabilidad blanca confiere un nuevo significado a su asociación con la "basura" y las lleva a considerar sus ocupaciones de clase trabajadora con orgullo, sin por ello abrazar necesariamente una supuesta identidad como "basura blanca".

Palabras clave: basura blanca, *waste studies*, blanquitud, respetabilidad, clase trabajadora.

1. Introduction

Dorothy Allison's exploration of poor white experiences in *Trash: Stories* (1988) has received limited attention when compared to her oft-mentioned novels *Bastard out of Carolina* (1992) and *Cavedweller* (1998). Even less attention has been given to Bonnie Jo Campbell's *American Salvage* (2009), a collection of short stories set in post-industrial Michigan at the turn of the millennium and populated by characters whose lives are likened to the remnants of a disintegrating social order: "It's as though there was some kind of apocalypse and nobody noticed, and now a large number of folks are living off the debris that's left behind" (Campbell in Kothari 2008). Despite noticeable differences in their respective backgrounds, themes and preoccupations, both authors often focus on the lives of those left behind — more specifically, on the experiences of the white American underclass and the stigma they carry.

In this article, I scrutinise contemporary iterations of the white trash trope in Allison's "Meanest Woman Ever Left Tennessee" and Campbell's "Boar Taint" from the perspective of waste theory and whiteness studies. My analysis seeks to shed light on the rhetorical strategies mobilised by those characters who are perceived as being 'white trash'. I am thus interested in examining how the class hierarchies used in these stories draw from the language of waste to establish poor whites as both polluted and polluting, continuing a long tradition of presenting the white underclass as inherently tainted. To that end, the article includes a

succinct overview of the origins and evolution of the term 'white trash', followed by an analysis of how some characters in Allison's and Campbell's stories demonstrate allegiance to white respectability by invoking discursive divisions based on notions of cleanliness and dirt. However, these stories also feature other characters who reject the conflation of respectability and (racial) purity, and strive to reappropriate the term 'trash' in order to vindicate class dignity and physical labor. I contend that the protagonists in these stories reshuffle the principles of respectability, purposefully downplaying the negative connections between working-class occupations, dirt and the poor white stigmatype, without necessarily embracing a purported white trash identity.

2. Poor Whites through the Lens of Waste Studies

Dirt, waste and trash are "essentially disorder" or "matter out of place", in Mary Douglas's famous definition (2001: 2, 36). Waste exists as "the by-product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter, in so far as ordering involves rejecting inappropriate elements" (36). However, the very existence of waste is what constitutes any "dominant system of order" in the first place, given that the system can only be maintained on the condition that it expels any elements perceived as potential "threats against that order" (Liboiron and Lepawsky 2022: 150). Defined relationally as the absence, lack or negation of another entity, waste is therefore "contextual, place-based, situated, and historically specific" (149). Considering that "some pollutions are used as analogies for expressing a general view of the social order" (Douglas 2001: 3), one of the most productive areas of inquiry to branch from waste studies examines how certain social dynamics are mapped according to models and relations of wasting.

Exploring how these models are incorporated into the construction of social hierarchies has helped shed light on their inner mechanisms and subsistence, as well as on the discursive strategies used to negotiate the boundaries between pollution and cleanliness. Susan Morrison argues that one of the ways in which humans separate themselves from those deemed inferior is by incorporating the language of waste into the "rhetoric of othering" in order to make undesirable individuals "cognate to waste", thereby constructing "unprivileged races, religions, and ethnicities as unclean or inhuman" (2015: 97). This rhetorical application stems from the threatening dimension of waste as an abject presence that ought to be expelled "in the interest of maintaining a boundary between what is connected to the self and what isn't" (Hawkins 2006: 24). The compulsion to separate oneself from polluted elements originates in the perception that "things deemed dirty, spoiled, or noxious carry polluting effects, by touching" (Zimring 2015: 1).

Transferred to the social plane, this fear of pollution translates into "*projective* disgust" as one imaginarily anticipates contamination (Morrison 2015: 102, emphasis in original). It is often not enough to jettison tainted individuals from a system (or push them to the margins) to preserve it; non-tainted individuals are driven to reinforce these symbolic boundaries rhetorically to maintain their distance.

When labelling and categorising tainted individuals, few expressions are blunter than 'white trash'. The term, whose origins date back to the rural American South in the first half of the nineteenth century (Isenberg 2017: 135; see also Harkins 2004, Wray 2006), designates members of the white underclass who bear "certain socially stigmatized traits or characteristics" (Hartigan 1997: 50). White trash conjoins "an ethnoracial signifier" and "a signifier of abject class status" to name "a kind of disturbing liminality […], a dangerous threshold state of being neither one nor the other" (Wray 2006: 2-3). Whereas 'white' is generally used to code 'wealth', its coupling with the insult 'trash' to denote 'economic waste' leads to an atypical denomination, given that "whiteness is so rarely connected to poverty in the US imaginary" (Newitz and Wray 1997: 8). Even though its origins are connected to the social organisation of the plantation economy, the term white trash has long crossed geographical limits to emerge as a repository of every reprehensible trait from which other whites want to distance themselves — including associations with chronic and extreme poverty, illiteracy, laziness, genetic inferiority (often manifested in scrawny or sickly constitutions), criminality, perversion, sexual degeneracy and debased appetites, to name a few.

Throughout US history a plethora of stigmatypes, including 'cracker', 'hillbilly', 'redneck' or 'clay-eater', have been attached to whites on the fringes of whiteness who display any traits mentioned above. The term refers to "stigmatizing boundary terms that simultaneously denote and enact cultural and cognitive divides between in-groups and outgroups, between acceptable and unacceptable identities, between proper and improper behaviors" (Wray 2006: 23). An important aspect of stigmatypes is that they function like relations of waste, that is to say, shaping categories by recourse to absence or negation. In this case, white trash functions both as "a rhetorical identity" and "a category of pollution through which white middle- and working-class Americans evaluate the behaviors and opinions of other whites of similar or lower class status" (Hartigan 2005: 113). From this perspective, the use of 'trash' is indicative of "self-conscious anxiety among whites over threats of pollution that threaten the basis for belonging within whiteness" (99). As a negative identity whose main attribute is the lack of adherence to unmarked, hegemonic forms of whiteness, white trash is "a means of inscribing social distance", especially for middle- and working-class whites "who occupy a place 'just above' the class divide from poor whites, straddling a line they are forever

fearful of crossing" (Hartigan 1997: 50). An imperfect or failed performance of whiteness may result in being labeled trash and hence socially marked as Other — a white Other.

What makes poor whites unassimilable into normative whiteness is their transgression of racial decorum. Whiteness is associated with domination and hegemony (Hartigan 2005: 2) but depends on remaining invisible to preserve its claims of universality, as Dyer argues: "Whites must be seen to be white, yet whiteness as race resides in invisible properties and whiteness as power is maintained by being unseen" (2017: 45). The breach of white decorum positions poor whites as "an embarrassing and symbolically messy group which has to be distinguished from the pure white middle class" (Grué 2014: 39). Functioning as a "contrastive strategy or rhetorical boundary construction", the category "white trash" unambiguously separates white individuals from "a certain form of racial detritus", that is, "whites who, through their poverty and ungainliness, fit insecurely within the body of whiteness as a hegemonic order of political power and social privilege" (Hartigan 2005: 114). Whenever the boundaries of racial decorum are found to be precarious, the language of waste is mobilised to demarcate what, or who, adheres to the standards that regulate unmarked whiteness.

Even though poverty is a significant attribute of white trash as a category, it is not what makes or breaks where the line is drawn.[1] Not all poor whites are white trash. Yet ever since the term was first introduced, it has been used inconsistently; sometimes, a person's character or morality could place them in the category, overriding economic factors, and sometimes individuals meet both criteria.[2] Insofar as the attributes assigned to white trash depend on how whiteness perceives itself, the term has changed over time. Representations of poor whites (especially in Southern literature) can be understood as "barometers of the cultural anxieties gripping middle-class white people" in different periods (Hubbs 2022: 7). Nonetheless, there are several traits, including a series of physical, intellectual and moral shortcomings, that are commonly associated with white trash — in opposition to other whites who, as Dorothy Allison argues, were categorised as "the good poor — hard-working, ragged but clean, and intrinsically honorable":

> I understood that we were the bad poor: men who drank and couldn't keep a job; women, invariably pregnant before marriage, who quickly became worn, fat, and old from working too many hours and bearing too many children; and children with runny noses, watery eyes, and the wrong attitudes. […] We were not noble, not grateful, not even hopeful. We knew ourselves despised. (Allison 2018: vii)

The separation between the 'good poor' from the 'bad poor' is nonetheless malleable and has evolved throughout time. In colonial times, the overlap between the language of class and the language of race still assigned "symbolic properties,

characteristics, and traits" indistinctly to "poor whites, Indians, and blacks" alike (Wray 2006: 22-23).[3] Around the mid-nineteenth century, mounting racial tensions and concerns about the stability of the existing social order, especially in Southern states, led to a shift not only in terminology but also in the conceptualisation of poor whites "as somehow less than white, their yellowish skin and diseased and decrepit children marking them as a strange breed apart" (Isenberg 2017: xxvii).[4] For many upper- and middle-class commentators, the degradation of poor whites translated into a distorted version of whiteness that challenged their perceived racial affiliation. Chronic poverty, malnutrition and other ills stemming from the socioeconomic condition of poor whites were increasingly understood to be consequences of some intrinsic degeneracy.

Overall, race became increasingly codified in terms of purity and cleanliness as the nineteenth century progressed, which ties in with Mary Douglas's observation that waste categories are used to buttress social hierarchies "wherever the [social] lines are precarious" (2001: 140). During the postbellum period, these divisions sharpened as "the rhetoric and imagery of hygiene became conflated with a racial order that made white people pure and anyone who was not white, dirty" (Zimring 2015: 89). This rhetoric can be traced in print sources, especially among Southern authors who located poor whites "along a primitive/civilized scale all too often applied to slaves and other people of color" (Mellette 2021: 9). The expansion of print media during the period contributed to the spreading of this rhetoric beyond geographical demarcations and likewise established a visual-verbal repository of poor white types in the collective imaginary nationwide.[5]

The eugenics movement at the turn of the century and its emphasis on "racial blood" (Dyer 2017: 24) helped solidify the stereotype that "large numbers of rural poor whites were 'genetic defectives'" (Newitz and Wray 1997: 2) and "represented a grave internal threat to the white race" (Hubbs 2022: 4). Again, the language of waste separates poor whites from the rest, marking them as inherently flawed and dangerous on account of their twofold status as polluted individuals and polluting agents. Early examples of eugenicist reports published in the 1870s "claimed that 'degenerate' poor white families biologically transmitted morally unacceptable and socially and culturally inappropriate qualities to generation after generation" (Wray 2006: 68), perpetuating a race of mongrels and criminals. The vocabulary in use borrowed heavily from animal husbandry and "highlighted unnatural breeding, unfit governance, and the degenerate nature of the worst stocks" (Isenberg 2017: 176). While the popularity of eugenics waned in the 1930s and 1940s, it made a decisive contribution to the solidification of widespread assumptions about poor whites, which persist in the US collective imaginary to this day (Newitz and Wray 1997: 2).[6]

Nowadays, 'white trash' remains a polarising term, regardless of some tepid attempts to dignify the label — notably, among working-class writers associated with the 'grit lit' genre who have sought to contest negative representations of poor whites (see Hubbs 2022: 108-20).[7] Other derogatory labels have fared better, yet ever so slightly.[8] Nevertheless, white trash continues to be a negative identity in at least two senses of the word: first, its existence is predicated on the negation of the traits associated with unmarked whiteness, which implies it is a mutable concept; second, although the images of both unmarked whiteness and white trash transform over time, the latter works by accrual, accumulating decades of reified prejudice. In other words, it is hard to claim white trash as an identity due to its pejorative nature, but especially because its existence is not predicated on possessing certain attributes, but on *not* possessing them. Any attempt to carve out a white trash identity must be considered carefully, lest they suppress the term's "historical and economic complexity" and turn it into an ahistorical, static notion — or worse, a commodity or aestheticised "consumable identity" that the middle classes can find "attractive" (Smith 2004: 375, 385). The complicated relation with white trash as a social category, as well as the struggle to delineate an alternative identity that departs from, yet re-signifies, the meaning of waste as a boundary that ought not to be trespassed, are central concerns in the short stories by Dorothy Allison and Bonnie Jo Campbell analysed below.

3. Warding off Trash

While the two short stories I examine in this study vindicate the association with trash, to some extent they are likewise firmly anchored in ideas and projections of white respectability that the main characters directly challenge or renegotiate. I use the term 'respectability' or 'white respectability' to denote a set of social codes, attitudes and beliefs that characters in these stories associate with upper- and middle-class normative whiteness. In Dorothy Allison's "Meanest Woman Ever Left Tennessee", the character of Shirley Boatwright constantly draws boundaries between herself and other poor whites to dispute her association with white trash.[9] Frustrated that she must live with her husband and children, whom she sees as an inferior breed, Shirley is physically and verbally abusive, obsessed with making her family comply with her idea of 'quality'. This becomes a paradoxical request, as she also claims they can never truly be 'quality people' on account of their innate lowly status. Bonnie Jo Campbell's "Boar Taint" follows Jill, a young woman who has relocated from Ann Arbor to a rural community in southwest Michigan after marrying Ernie, a local farmer, as she goes to purchase a hog from a poor white family, the Jentzens. The story offers a nuanced depiction of respectability and

social stigma by showcasing different rhetorical negotiations of class allegiances —specifically, the existing intracommunal divisions and the perception of the same community from an external viewpoint— and considers the malleability of these divisions depending on the position one occupies in the social ladder.

Both stories feature characters who refute their association with the white trash stigma by demonstrating allegiance to respectability. To this end, they stage a rhetorical displacement that involves situating someone else at the bottom of the social hierarchy, thus transferring any associations with white trash to that inferior position by mobilising the language of waste. If "to see ourselves as higher socially, we need to cordon ourselves off from direct contact with muck", these characters epitomise "[t]he desire to dissociate ourselves from excrement, filth, and waste as much as possible" in order to maintain rigid class distinctions (Morrison 2015: 47). The problem is that, as these stories make apparent, it is often not enough to refute one's identification with white trash for it to be effective. Adherence to respectability is often meaningless if it is not corroborated by an outsider's perspective. In "Meanest…", Shirley's insistence on her superior status is met with contempt by her fellow workers at the mill; even though she seeks to ingratiate herself with the foremen by informing on her fellow employees, there is no proof they regard her as anything else than a pawn at their service. In "Boar Taint", Ernie's distancing from the Jentzen family is challenged by Jill's outsider perspective; influenced by her urban, middle-class family, Jill cannot help but notice the similarities shared by Ernie and the Jentzens — which, by extension, bring her closer to the Jentzens than she might have imagined.

As I advanced earlier, the borders of respectability are erected in these stories by mobilising the language of waste against individuals perceived as inferior. In "Meanest…", Shirley cultivates clear-cut discursive boundaries that allow her to sort people into either 'quality' or 'trash', two poles that determine how she treats others. For Shirley, née Wilmer, the Boatwrights belong to a diseased breed of "devils and worms and trash" whose "natural substance was dirt and weeds" (Allison 2018: 21). Her verbal attacks draw from the white trash stigmatype; namely, she is adamant that her husband's father is a drunk and his sisters are lazy and live in dirt-floor cabins (24). Her attitude toward her husband and children seemingly stems from her family's rejection after she married — presumably, below her social station: "My side of the family don't even want to know you're alive" (24). She obsessively strives to demonstrate to others that she is still "one of the *quality*" (21, emphasis in original) by adhering to a rigid code of respectability. For instance, she assigns value to different types of jobs, claiming that "[m]ill workers are a better class of people than miners" (23). Likewise, she conflates respectability and cleanliness, as it is made apparent in her stories of "how big and clean" the

Wilmer house was, "how the porch shone with soapstoned wood and baskets of sweet herbs that Grandma Wilmer used in her cooking, how the neighbors admired her mother and looked up to her daddy" (24). Depicted as the quintessential proper place, Shirley's childhood home mirrors the commendable moral quality of those living in it.

Even though Shirley's obsession with cleanliness and dirt is central to the story, it is suggested that she believes respectability to be an inherent biological trait. In each of the story's fragmentary vignettes depicting Shirley's unmotivated abuse, her eugenicist rhetoric ascribes manifestations of racial degeneracy to her children, such as laziness ("Trash don't know the meaning of use. Just like you kids"), promiscuity and sexual degeneracy that verges on the monstruous: "Wouldn't nobody take an interest in you if you were to birth puppy dogs and turtles — which you might. You might any day now" (Allison 2018: 24). Whereas Shirley believes her own superior status is discernible to the naked eye, noting that "[t]he better people […] know their own" (21-22), she rules out the possibility that any of that status has been passed on to her children: "Boatwrights, you're all *purely bred* Boatwrights" (24, emphasis added). Her fear of pollution is likewise apparent in how she reacts to her many pregnancies, to the extent that she accuses her husband of putting "death and dirt" in her: "All I've got out of you is death and mud and worms" (26). Besides bringing Shirley closer to the stereotypically large white trash family, each new pregnancy entails that she must carry degenerate Boatwright blood inside her, forcing unwanted contact with a source of pollution and thereby posing a threat to her integrity. These forced contacts further enrage Shirley, fueling her hatred for her children.

Even if respectability is coded as an inherent biological trait, this does not prevent Shirley from chastising her children for not living up to her standards. She constantly polices their bodies and personal hygiene and berates them whenever she finds any flaws: "That neck don't look clean to me, Bo. You trying to grow mold in those armpits, Mattie? Why are you so dirty and stupid?" (Allison 2018: 23). This is perhaps the clearest example of how the rhetoric of waste is used by Shirley to erect boundaries that her children will never be able to cross. These divisions act as reminders that they can never be assimilated into white respectability. As the story approaches its climax, Mattie observes Shirley berating her younger brother Bo for his table manners:

> "Quality people use serving dishes". Shirley slapped Bo's hand. "Quality people don't come to the table with grease under their nails".
> "I washed". […]
> "If you'd really washed, you would be clean", Shirley was saying. "Nobody in my family ever came to the table with dirt under their nails. You go wash again".
> My family, Mattie thought. My family. (Allison 2018: 29)

By "oppressing others" whom she sees as lower than herself, Shirley seeks to prevent "becoming the lowest form of trash herself" (Morrison 2015: 52). This attitude is also manifested in her workplace, yet it does not have the same effect — mainly because other workers see Shirley for what she is: a snitch. This difference will become the catalyst for Mattie's rebellion at the end of the story.

Whereas "Meanest…" is rather straightforward in the way it represents how respectability is constructed and understood, "Boar Taint" complicates matters by departing from Ernie's working-class perspective and then inserting Jill's middle-class outlook. The initial portrayal of the Jentzens as seen by Ernie draws from the white trash stigmatype. The road to their farm is "long" and "slow", leading "past where the blacktop gives way to gravel and farther past, where it twists and turns and becomes a rutted two track" (Campbell 2009: 151). This description establishes them as backwoods people, not to be trusted — an impression reinforced by Ernie's reservations about the purchase: "That's an awful cheap price for any kind of hog […]. You got to ask yourself" (152). Moreover, his recollections of having been classmates with a Jentzen kid tap into the white trash imaginary, depicting them as extremely poor, malnourished and illiterate: "Had only one pair of overhauls to his name. He never brought anything to eat for lunch, not even lard-and-salt sandwiches *like us regular poor kids*. He still couldn't read in the fifth grade" (152, emphasis added). Access to normal food separates "regular poor kids" from the Jentzens and their debased or inexistent appetites, continuing a long tradition of identifying strategies to ward off hunger as symptomatic of depravity (Hubbs 2022: 94): "Them Jentzens still living on woodchuck meat and dandy-lion greens?"; "Jentzens got a good crop of pokeweed this year?" (Campbell 2009: 163, 165).[10] Unlike Shirley in "Meanest…", Ernie does not straightforwardly claim adherence to respectability, but his characterisation of the Jentzens clearly portrays them as an inferior class to the "regular poor", working-class type Ernie believes he represents.

By contrast, Jill's encounter with the Jentzens is not constructed by invoking the "good poor" versus "bad poor" rhetoric used by Ernie. For Andy Oler, Jill's encounter with the Jentzens replicates the conventions of "hillbilly horror" as it exploits cultural anxieties, in this case related to the dangers posed by polluted whiteness entwined with rural decline (2019: 171). As a middle-class urbanite-turned-farmer, Jill's experience with backwoods people originates from a different place than Ernie's, even though both versions are ultimately caricatures of white poverty. The scene as viewed through Jill's eyes suggests that she makes sense of her encounter with the Jentzens through the lens of "the city dweller versus evil rural folk paradigm" (Murphy 2013: 135).[11] Jentzen farm is a decaying "turn-of-the-last-century house", shrouded in darkness; when Jill enters, "her work boots

press grit into the plank floor" (Campbell 2009: 153-54). The people inside are silent and do not quite fit inside the room. Jill first distinguishes "the silhouette of a shriveled old man in a thin undershirt, sitting motionless at a table", and then four more men, their faces looking "uniformly grimy" in the dim light of the stove (154). One of them, "with dark blond hair stringy from sweat", sits panting with "[h]is mouth hung open", which reminds Jill of "the way her chickens sweated through their open mouths on the hottest days" (155). Meanwhile, the only woman present, "thirty-five at the most", is described as having a rough face and raw hands, swollen ankles and two missing teeth (156). The emaciated, animalesque profiles, combined with the suffocating atmosphere of the kitchen, make the Jentzens feel grotesquely alien, reinforcing the association between the decaying exterior and the physical decadence of those crammed inside.

Jill's urban, middle-class upbringing places her farther away from both the Jentzens and her husband, a situation that renders her incapable of spotting all the differences between them, which Ernie perceives to be blatantly obvious. Instead, she can spot their common quirks and habits from her outsider's perspective. Namely, she quickly notices that the Jentzens are "not hooked up to the power grid" and remembers how she had to persuade Ernie "to get the electricity connected to the house and barn", a recently introduced feature that did not prevent him from sitting "at the kitchen table with the oil lamp or the Coleman lantern" when left to his own devices (Campbell 2009: 153). Jill's observation that "[p]eople back home in Ann Arbor refused to believe there were still folks without electricity in America" (153) draws a line, not between Ernie and the Jentzens, but between "people back *home*" and rural Michigan, blurring Ernie's claim to respectability as part of the good poor. Later, as she notices a mended tear in the screen door, she is reminded of how they, too, "had repaired their screen with duct tape last week, and she had felt bad, thinking about how her father used to replace a porch screen when it had the tiniest hole" (157). Jill's father's attitude is indicative of a middle-class ethos of consumerism and disposability, one he deems to be the superior option: "Her father couldn't understand how Jill could choose a life where there was no time to relax and *do things right*" (157, emphasis added). Jill imagines him pontificating on her life choices from his office: "Her father might enjoy leaning back in his office chair about now and telling her she'd wasted twenty-five —no, thirty— dollars and a quarter-tank of gas" (162). Compared to Jill's father and his respectable middle-class persona, Ernie's mindset is very much aligned with that of the Jentzens.

Although they represent "the clearest image of the struggling Midwestern farmer on the brink of collapse in the twenty-first century" (Ortega 2023: 53), the Jentzens are not the only ones who struggle financially. Jill and Ernie are going

through a rough patch after Jill squandered most of her grandmother's inheritance investing in a series of failed agricultural schemes (Campbell 2009: 159). Their neighbor has "lost about everything except his house and garage in the last few years" and now works in retail, while his estate has been sold by the bank to "a larger corporate farm" (163). These circumstances raise doubt regarding the community's socioeconomic prospects. While observing Jentzen farm, Jill notes that "[a] big clapboard house like this […] could have been a showpiece in the historic district in Ann Arbor, with the siding, trim, and glass all repaired", but here it is just a rotting anachronism "doomed to collapse" (154). The house and its inhabitants are remnants of a lifestyle that will only get increasingly obsolete as corporate farming takes over; Ernie and his community will follow suit. This realisation hits Jill as she returns home, hog in tow, to find Ernie, their neighbor and his son "sitting at the porch picnic table with the Coleman lantern" (162). The eerie resemblance between this scene and what she witnessed back at Jentzen farm pushes Jill to the edge: "She wanted to unhook the trailer, pull out of this driveway, and head south until she was far enough away that she could look back and see it all in miniature" (163). Jill's assimilation into the category of trash, like in Mattie's case by the end of "Meanest…", appears to be inevitable. However, both these characters manage to re-signify the implications of assimilation through their labor — in Mattie's case, by choosing to sign up with the union and, in Jill's case, by doubling down on her commitment to live as a farmer despite the threat of economic decline.

4. Re-signifying Trash through Labor

After examining the rhetorical strategies deployed to establish (intra-)class divisions in Allison's and Campbell's stories, I would like to address how the association with waste is repurposed by the characters of Mattie and Jill, who vindicate this connection — even if that aligns them with the white trash stigmatype. In both cases, this vindication entails a rejection of respectability embodied by parental figures: Mattie refuses to follow her mother's example at work, choosing class solidarity over aspirations of upward mobility; meanwhile, Jill makes the choice to stay a farmer despite her father's prejudice, even if that implies grappling with economic uncertainty. In doing so, these characters reshuffle the traits of respectability, finding a sense of pride in their association with what others see as trash. Although both stories opt for an open ending, it is hinted that their decision to recast their association with waste may be the solution to their respective conflicts.

Throughout "Meanest Woman Ever Left Tennessee", Mattie seems to be the only Boatwright sibling to stand up to her mother's attacks: "she hated the way Mattie

would stare back at her and refuse to drop her eyes" (Allison 2018: 23). The other children think Mattie is "crazy", but nonetheless "worshiped her craziness and suspected that without her they might have all curled up and died" (23). Although Shirley reviles all members of her family, she is especially vicious to Mattie and often singles her out for her alleged depravity. In Shirley's eyes, Mattie is simultaneously promiscuous and undesirable, in tune with other portrayals of white trash sexuality as voracious and deviant.[12] She tells Mattie she is a "whore" who is not "worth two cents a night" (25) and takes every opportunity to drum it into her: "[Mabel Moseley] said you were shaking your ass and swinging your hair like some kind of harlot" (30).

In the story, Mattie's rebellion runs parallel to her entrance in the workforce and her sexual awakening. When she and her brother Bo are forced to find work at the textile mill, Mattie soon discovers that other women "stepped aside when her mama passed": "Everybody said Shirley Boatwright believed her piss was wine. Everybody said she repeated whatever she heard to the foreman on the second shift" (Allison 2018: 27). Shirley's attempts to get ahead have earned her a place in the finishing room, "[s]afely separated from the rest of the mill by a wire-and-glass wall" (27), but she does not instill respect in others — only resentment and animosity. Realising her mother's real role in the mill starts to affect Mattie's views. Moreover, on her way to work every morning, she often runs into a young man who openly flirts with her: "Lord, I do love to look at pretty girls" (Allison 2018: 28). Mattie notices that this is "the first time anyone had ever suggested [she] might be pretty" and becomes flirtatious, too, which in turn emboldens her: "She didn't know what she wanted to say to anybody. She only knew she wanted to start finding things out. She felt as if her eyes were coming open, as if light were sneaking into a dark place inside her" (28-29). This positive association between desire and freedom recasts Mattie's sexuality in a different light; instead of the monstruous depravity Shirley perceives, it is presented as a liberating force that shapes Mattie's aspirations in life.

This change in perspective leads Mattie to openly question Shirley and her worldview. This is reflected in the story's progressive shift in focus, from Shirley to Mattie, showcasing her contrasting opinions. Whereas Shirley's food is "[w]hite on white", her daughter fantasises with the vibrant colors of "[b]lack-eyed peas with pork and greens […]. When she had her own kitchen, there would be lots of color" (Allison 2018: 29). Examining the gaps between the floorboards, Mattie wonders, "What would it be like […] to live in a house with dirt floors?" (30). This leads to the final scene where Mattie antagonises Shirley by bringing up the "union man" to her brother: "'Trade union'. Mattie filled her fork again and then looked right past her mama to Bo. 'You think we ought to sign up?'" (31). As Shirley gets

up, most likely to slap her, Mattie finds herself thinking that "when she had kids, she'd sit them all down on the dirt floor and tell 'em to sign with the union" (31). Confronting her mother entails embracing a lifestyle that radically clashes with hers; thus, Mattie begins to chart an alternative pathway that casts the association with dirt in a positive light, rejecting her mother's brand of respectability and embracing working-class allegiance. By depicting Shirley as a snitch allied with the foremen, the story also makes the case that Mattie's fantasy to live in a dirt-floor cabin and sign with the union repurposes Shirley's aspirational middle-class respectability as working-class dignity.

For Jill in "Boar Taint", repurposing respectability also entails rejecting parental influence and embracing her association with dirt. Like Mattie's, her future is uncertain. Jill has gone from "post-graduate student working with experimental bean crops" (Campbell 2009: 153) to full-time farmer in the span of thirty-six months and struggles with her sense of belonging. Whereas she keeps squandering money on failed schemes, such as experimental soybeans that never sprouted or a milking operation that soon becomes obsolete, Ernie sticks to "his hundreds of acres of the same corn, oats, and beans he'd been harvesting for the last three decades" (152) and seems to regard Jill's failed ventures with a mixture of skepticism and pity (159). This perception is perhaps conditioned by Jill's insecurity, fueled by her family's deprecating opinions: "Her family was right: just because she'd studied agriculture for six years didn't mean she knew a damned thing about farming" (161). Her father seems to be particularly critical of Jill's choices, as he tells her that "marrying Ernie was proof positive she didn't know a damned thing about real life" (161). In the story, Jill tries to navigate her feelings of inadequacy and alienation, as well as the looming threat of economic decline — all sentiments that become more acute after her encounter with the Jentzens.

The hog ordeal reveals that the real threat for Jill does not lie in being attacked by the Jentzens, but in becoming the Jentzens. Besides the uncanny parallels between Ernie and the men, Jill notices unsettling similarities between herself and the only Jentzen woman:

> Despite the swollen ankles and two missing teeth, the woman appeared not much older than Jill, maybe thirty-five at the most. Her hair was still a rich brown, but her face was rough, as though sunburned season after season. Jill always tried to remember to put on sunscreen, but rarely reapplied it after sweating it off. The woman held out her raw hand, and as Jill gave her the five and the twenty, she noted her own hand was torn up from scrubbing the cow barn's concrete floors and walls to prepare for this morning's inspection. (Campbell 2009: 156)

These eerie coincidences haunt Jill, who becomes aware of how the gap she had imagined between herself and the Jentzens is closing: "Until Jill had seen the

Jentzen woman, she hadn't understood what her family feared for her" (162). This realisation dawns on her on the drive home. Believing the hog has collapsed and died from an infection, and swarmed by negative thoughts, Jill grabs a fancy "imported dark chocolate bar with hazelnuts" she had just acquired at the grocery store "as an indulgence" (153) and messily devours it with "mud-crusted hands smell[ing] of pig shit":

> She […] tore away the wrapper with her fingers and teeth, undressed the top of the chocolate bar, spit out bits of foil. She bit into the heat-softened chocolate and chewed and swallowed wildly. The luxury of it made her feel drunk. She tore away the rest of the wrapper and devoured the whole damned thing. Despite the pig stink, it tasted better than anything she'd eaten lately […]. (161)

In this passage, Jill becomes physically and symbolically tainted from the perspective of white respectability. She partially confirms her family's fears were founded as she breaks away from middle-class respectability and decorum. Seeing that "her ideas for extra income" may in fact be "hurrying the end along" (Campbell 2009: 162), she is flabbergasted to find Ernie and their neighbors sitting around the Coleman lantern, an image that seems to confirm Jill's fears that they are, indeed, just like the Jentzens: "What would her father say if he were here? Would he make clever remarks about failing farms and inbred families at the ends of dirt roads where everybody had six fingers on each hand?" (164). In this imaginary scornful comment, Jill has crossed over to the other side, aligned with the "failing farms and inbred families" her father likes to ridicule.

Even though she is tempted to flee, unsure whether "she belonged here at all" and whether Ernie "see[s] her as a farmer" (Campbell 2009: 164), Jill chooses to stay. In doing so, she insists on placing value in rural life even if that entails living in contact with polluting substances, like soil and manure. Despite the influence her father holds on her, Jill manages to separate the physical taint that is involved in farm work from the symbolic taint her father conflates with it: "Her father couldn't understand […] how the contours of the farm interlocked precisely with the contours of her mind" (161). Ultimately, it is Jill's passion which gives her the resolve to persevere: "All she'd ever wanted, from the time she was a kid, was to work with land and animals, to work beside a good man" (161). However, she charts her own course after witnessing the fate of the Jentzen woman. In an interview, Campbell noted that the Jentzen men are "especially terrifying" to Jill because she feels they "might devour her for sustenance": "The challenge for Jill staying on the farm with Ernie is that she has to imagine a way she can stay on her own terms and without her own men devouring her" (in Kothari 2008). The end suggests there might be hope in her sense of innovation, as opposed to the stagnant ways of failing farmers (Ortega 2023: 54).

In the end, Jill pursues what might be the only viable alternative left, striving "to salvage what she can of the farm's future" (Ortega 2023: 52) in her attempts to adapt "their agricultural practice to a changing economy", whereas Ernie "continues to farm as he always has, despite evidence that his is a declining way of life" (Oler 2019: 171). Although Jill realises that, "like all the farmers in this downward spiral, she and Ernie could lose everything" (Campbell 2009: 162), the story concludes on a somewhat high note after she discovers the hog is alive and will only need some antibiotics to thrive. Despite the bleak economic prospects, she reassures herself that her pig-roasting plan "was once again looking very promising": "This boar had turned out to be exactly what she needed, a creature even bullets could not stop" (167). This ending is only possible after Jill rejects both her father's prejudice against rural life and Ernie's prejudice against the Jentzens. In staying, Jill ignores her own inevitable association with the poor white stigmatype and tries to make an alternative pathway for herself.

5. Conclusion

Bearing all these aspects in mind, both "Meanest Woman Ever Left Tennessee" and "Boar Taint" depict labor as a source of pride by reshuffling the tenets of middle-class respectability, represented by the characters of Shirley and Jill's father, to compose a portrayal of working-class dignity wherein associations with dirt and manual labor are cast in a positive light. Whereas Allison's story puts emphasis on the value of class solidarity by linking dirt-floor cabins and trade unions in Mattie's rebellion against the tyrannical rule of white respectability, embodied by her mother, Campbell's story looks past stereotypical depictions of rural folks and farm life as backwards and degenerate, showcasing instead the intrinsic value of physical work. Arguably, if Jill had not been tainted by driving to Jentzen farm and wrestling the hog into her truck, she would have relinquished the opportunity to salvage the farm's future; if becoming tainted renders her closer to the Jentzens and the white trash stigmatype, it is a price she is willing to pay. Similarly, Mattie does not mind being associated with her family and fellow workers' lowly status, as long as she can distance herself from the abuse and impossible expectations her mother places on her siblings and her.

Each story illustrates how the upper and middle classes benefit from the working classes' investment in respectability by including a plot that presents these internal class divisions as having a direct negative outcome for their livelihoods. In "Meanest…", Shirley's desire to move up in society grants the foremen access to information on other workers, potentially jeopardising their activities. In "Boar Taint", farmers continue to believe they do not have it as bad as the Jentzens

despite proof to the contrary, instead of finding a common cause against the expansionist threat of corporate farming. Although the stories do not exactly vindicate a purported "white trash identity", they do reject the white trash stigmatype and its discursive links with waste. Instead of dwelling on the rhetoric of othering deployed by their fellow characters, Mattie and Jill re-signify their ties with waste by introducing new, positive associations between dirt and self-worth — while Mattie vindicates her working-class affiliation and rejects Shirley's aspirations of social ascent, Jill similarly relinquishes her father's middle-class ethos and finds pride in her newly acquired expertise as a farmer, even if that opens a rift between her family's social station and her own. Dorothy Allison and Bonnie Jo Campbell provide relevant examples of how literature can contribute to dignifying working-class lifestyles in the US by fostering positive representation, namely by showcasing life choices that place value in what is often regarded as worthless, but also by presenting the plurality of poor white experiences instead of falling for reified identities and negative stereotypes.

Notes

1. For a thorough analysis of the changing identities of the 'undeserving poor' throughout US history, see Katz (2013).

2. See Forret (2006), esp. "Introduction".

3. At least until the first half of the nineteenth century, terms like "immoral, lazy, and dirty" were still applied to "Irish immigrants, African Americans, Indians, and poor Southern whites alike" (Zimring 2015: 30). Later, however, race divisions pushed understandings of poor Southern whites as not entirely white, solidifying the conflation of poor moral character and race while downplaying the role of class.

4. Nancy Isenberg discusses the "ingrained physical defects" that characterised white trash Southerners in nineteenth century descriptions, noting that by being "classified as a 'race' that passed on horrific traits", the possibilities of improvement or social mobility for poor whites were eliminated (2017: 135-36). This connects to fears of social arrivisme in the South during Reconstruction, epitomised in the figure of the scalawag, and the desire to maintain preexisting social hierarchies on account of alleged racial and biological differences (see Isenberg 2017, ch. 8). In parallel to these transformations in the US South, the growth of an urban underclass living in deplorable sanitary conditions cemented the belief that "poverty and immorality went hand in hand" regardless of location (Zimring 2015: 30).

5. Among these characters, Ransy Sniffle, created by Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, paved the way for subsequent representations of poor whites. Sniffle was "notable for his poor diet, his physical deformities, his laziness, apathy, and low intelligence, and his oddly colored skin" (Wray 2006: 40). Moreover, illustrators like E.W. Kemble disseminated the stereotypical image that would come to be associated with white trash (see Hubbs 2022). For further reading on the presence of poor white stereotypes in nineteenth century media, see Harkins (2004).

6. For a thorough chronological review of the antecedents and rise of American eugenics in relation to poor whites, see Isenberg, especially chapters 6 to 8 (2017: 135-205). For a shorter yet compelling overview, see Wray, chapter 3 (2006: 65-95). Regarding the persistence of eugenics-influenced visions of poor whites as intrinsically degenerate, especially in rural contexts, see Murphy (2013) for a comprehensive discussion of the hillbilly trope in contemporary backwoods horror film.

7. For a nuanced discussion of the factors influencing the commodification and vindication (or lack thereof) of white trash identity in recent years, see Hartigan (2005: 109-33) and Smith (2004).

8. For instance, 'redneck' and 'hillbilly' have been partly revitalised by their association with country music, authenticity, and simple life, yet those perceived as rednecks and hillbillies continue to be lampooned by normative whites (see Harkins 2004; Hartigan 2005; Isenberg 2017, esp. 256-261).

9. Henceforth, "Meanest…".

10. For further reading on the association between hunger, moral bankruptcy, and bizarre eating habits among poor whites, see Hubbs (2022), esp. 96-100.

11. Murphy makes the case that rural Gothic narratives "often pivot upon ill-fated encounters between people who are tied to one place, and those who are 'just passing through'", who become victims of locals "whose aggressiveness, resentment, and degeneracy is always linked to the fact that they tied to a deprived rural locale which epitomises the stagnation of what was once 'frontier territory'" (2013: 142). Jill's expectation of violence is shaped by her knowledge of the Jentzens' stagnation, but also by her feelings of alienation as a middle-class outsider trying to fit in a community whose inner dynamics she still struggles to understand.

12. Sexuality among poor whites has been historically depicted as raw, aberrant, and aggressive, characterised by a type of promiscuity that may incorporate taboo practices like incest and zoophilia. To name a well-known example, the popularity of *Deliverance* (1972, dir. John Boorman) with its deviant, rapist hillbillies, has contributed greatly to the perpetuation of this stereotype in contemporary depictions of poor white sexuality.

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Reviews

PATHOLOGIZING BLACK BODIES: THE LEGACY OF PLANTATION SLAVERY

Edited by Constante González Groba, Ewa Barbara Luczak and Urszula Niewiadomska-Flis
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In 2007 Saidiya Hartman famously defined the afterlife of slavery as an existence determined by "skewed life chances, limited access to health and education, premature death, incarceration, and impoverishment" (2007: 6). Since then, the discipline of Black studies has actively embraced the productive intersection between the past and the present to point up the tragic perpetuation of racial oppression and the relentless struggle of the African American community in the United States. This continuity between the past and the present was evidenced in April 2020 when the entire world, immersed in the devastating Covid-19 pandemic, watched video footage of the murder of yet another African American man at the hands of the police. What was perhaps less apparent was the disproportionate toll that the pandemic itself had on the Black population of the country, a paradigmatic example of the invisible impact of structural racism. *Pathologizing Black Bodies: The Legacy of Plantation Slavery* (2023), co-authored by Constante González Groba, Ewa Barbara Luczak and Urszula Niewiadomska-Flis, explores the multiplicity of mechanisms through which these means of oppression are actualized in the present and represented in literature. The first in the series Routledge Studies in African American Literature, the monograph stems from the conception of the Black body as a site of inscription of historical violence, oppression and trauma, and scrutinizes this bodily "criminalization, sexualization and medicalization" (1). The book is divided in three sections centered around eugenics, trauma and food studies, which examine the corporeal imprint of slavery

as shown through the medical experimentation, capitalist commodification and exploitation as well as the fungibility of the racialized body. Alongside this, the detailed analysis provided in each of the parts assesses the different acts of resistance undertaken at an individual and communal level.

The first part, "Pathologizing 'Blood'", comprises two chapters in which Luczak tackles the application of scientific racism to the medical sciences and analyzes the tension between the structural implementation of these discourses and individual attitudes through two cases of study. The first chapter is concerned with the emergence of racial seroanthropology in the 1920s as a discipline that mobilized the symbolic power of blood for segregationist purposes. Through the contextualization and analysis of Wallace Thurman's short story "Grist in the Mill" (1926), the author discusses the main cultural meanings of blood —namely, an essentialist substance, a symbol of danger, an emblem of community and a mark of purity (39)— and how these meanings are exposed and subverted in the narrative. This ideology was used to defend white superiority on biological grounds, and interracial contact was purported to endanger the well-being of the individual and the body politic. Labeled a "mock gothic fiction" (39) due to its treatment of conventional gothic tropes with an ironic and sarcastic tone, the short story taps into the long tradition of the genre in Southern literature. The narrative instantiates the process of appropriation and subversion of traditional associations between Blackness and monstrosity singled out by Maisha Wester in her seminal study of African American gothic forms (2012: 28). The second chapter continues to develop the ramifications of eugenics as a pseudo-scientific discourse, this time with the examination of involuntary sterilizations in Toni Morrison's *Home* (2012). Through the fictionalization of characters and events, the novel invokes figures such as Dr. Marion J. Sims, heralded as the father of gynecology, and his infamous experiments on enslaved women; Eunice Rivers, the nurse who coordinated the Tuskegee syphilis experiments (1932–1972); and the 2010 scandal regarding the 7,600 sterilization procedures performed by the state of North Carolina between 1933 and 1973 that disproportionately targeted Black women. The novelty of this study resides in Luczak's accurate analytical approach to Morrison's novel through standpoint eugenics, a framework that employs the "epistemological perspective of eugenic victims" and vests it with a "greater weight in unearthing the medical profession's abusive practices" (53). In addition to focusing on victims, Luczak examines the role of the bystander, highlighting how the intersection of race and gender becomes a fundamental axiom of what the author calls "female solidarity witnessing" (70).

In the second part, "Pathologizing the Body", González Groba further develops the dimensions of corporeal pathologization by exploring the representation of the

racialized body as a disruptive element in need of containment, as well as the reversal of this tendency in antiracist discourses. The third chapter is concerned with the examination of literal forms of subjugation in two critically acclaimed contemporary novels, *Sing, Unburied, Sing* (2017) by Jesmyn Ward and *The Nickel Boys* (2019) by Colson Whitehead. The prison structures that govern Parchman Farm and the Arthur G. Dozier reformatory are testaments to the spatial legacies of plantation slavery, and the authors' mobilization of the tropes of the ghost and the double rely on the potential of gothic literature to articulate a profound social critique. Ward's specters signify on the intergenerational transmission of trauma and its iteration in the present. In turn, Whitehead's engagement with the doppelgänger reveals a division of the self predicated on the two main trends of the racial discourse: the possibility of transcendence is pitted against the pessimistic belief in the insuperability of antiblackness. Intimately related to the exercise of spatialized rememory vested with supernatural overtones that Rebecca Evans calls "gothic geomemory" (2021: 446), these spaces and beings underscore a transhistorical process of de-subjectification and erasure of the Black body. As counterpart to Luczak's analysis, in the fourth chapter González Groba expands on the discussion of the body politic as a metaphorical organism. The comparative analysis of Lillian Smith's *Killers of the Dream* (1949) and Ibram X. Kendi's *How to Be an Antiracist* (2019) draws a parallel between both authors' employment of cancer as a metaphor for racism that effectively redresses the construction of Blackness as pathological. Each of them addresses their most immediate socio-historical context: while Smith sought to account for the malady of segregation in her native South, Kendi focuses on systemic racism at a national level, its origins and the mechanisms that enable its perpetuation today. Both authors converge in their categorical indictment of the politics of disposability (2023: 115) that devaluate African American lives. Drawing on their personal battle with this disease and survival, Smith and Kendi advocate for the urgent enactment of radical measures that will avoid a metastatic expansion of racism and thus irrevocably imperil the "moral", "political" and "cultural health" of the nation (122).

The third part, "De-Pathologizing Access to Food and Land", discusses the afterlife of slavery within the sphere of food production and consumption and focuses on African American emancipatory strategies. The fifth chapter is concerned with food representation in hip-hop through artists such as Goodie Mob, Dead Prez, Notorious B.I.G. or OutKast, where it features both as a distinctive marker of Black identity as well as a testament to endemic racism. Niewiadomska-Flis examines current patterns of food distribution as bearing the imprint of plantation slavery dynamics in practices such as supermarket redlining that deprives minority areas of access to a broad variety of nutritional options. The author interrogates the interconnections among race, poverty, food accessibility and health through

the concept of food apartheid coined by Ashante Reese and "born at the intersection of residential segregation, economic capital (capitalist accumulation) and dispossession" (146). Niewiadomska-Flis delineates a health-conscious turn in hip-hop culture that seeks to raise awareness of dietary-derived health issues and to advocate for a healthier and greener revision of African American foodways. Faithful to its combative style, this process of "decolonizing their communities' diets" becomes a powerful "act of rebellion against racial injustice and discrimination" (153). In the sixth chapter, the author explores the relationship between African Americans and land, one that has been historically marked by dispossession. Dispossession originated during slavery and was perpetuated through subsequent systems such as sharecropping, peonage or convict leasing. This opposition to Black land ownership as a chief mechanism of racial subjugation continued into the twentieth century with the blatant discriminatory practices enacted by the US Department of Agriculture. In this context, Niewiadomska-Flis proposes Natalie Baszile's 2014 novel *Queen Sugar* as a counter-narrative of land reclamation and identity affirmation in a cultural space dominated by whiteness. Her analysis of the narrative's sugarcane plantation through the lenses of Michel Foucault's concept of heterotopia and Sarah Ahmed's notion of affective economy underlines the problematization of the Southern rhetoric of the pastoral idyll through the African American protagonist who must confront the realities of agrarian structural racism. In turn, successfully accessing land will allow for a redefinition of a traditionally white co-opted space into a "site of [black] sovereignty and sustainability" (165) mediated by the community's solidarity and a shift toward cooperative economics that also entails a redefinition of the self.

Pathologizing Black Bodies: The Legacy of Plantation Slavery offers an exhaustive account of the manifold manners in which African American existence has been pathologized and of the imprint that slavery has left on many spheres of Black life. These inquiries are informed by a multiplicity of theoretical concepts that emanate from different analytical frameworks, thus providing a comprehensive and detailed assessment of the multi-dimensional phenomenon of systemic racism in the United States. Luczak, González Groba and Niewiadomska-Flis examine a vast array of texts and genres ranging from the short story to hip-hop lyrics, extending from the early twentieth century to the present and with plotlines dating back to even earlier periods. These two facets of the monograph demonstrate the continuation of racial oppression and the pervasiveness of this issue within the contemporary social debate, thus speaking to its main quality: its timeliness. The book directly engages the inescapable hold of history and the presentness of the past, one that has been theorized by myriad Black intellectuals from a historical, social, cultural and philosophical perspective in recent years. From Michelle Alexander's assessment of our era as "the New Jim Crow" (2010) to Christina Sharpe's description of Black

life as perpetually embedded "in the wake" of slavery (2016), the discussion carried out in these pages dismantles the grounds for a falsely-proclaimed postracial age. Thus, with its acute critical analysis and exhaustive historico-theoretical survey, the monograph stands as an active call for racial justice and as a relevant asset in the expansion of Black studies.

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SCIENCE FICTION AND NARRATIVE FORM

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Academic engagement with science fiction remained steady from the 1970s until the turn of the millennium, a period that saw the publication of remarkable studies such as Darko Suvin's *Metamorphoses of Science Fiction* (1979), Kathleen Spencer's essay on the stylistic description of science fiction (1983) and Carl Freedman's *Critical Theory and Science Fiction* (2000). In the twenty-first century, there has been a veritable explosion of texts, both from scholars and authors of science fiction. Whereas earlier critical works were more concerned with genre definitions, new contributions seek to explore the multiple possibilities of science fiction, and thus the panorama of science fiction studies is changing drastically and rapidly (see, for instance, Langer 2011; Ginway and Brown 2012; Lavender III 2014; Lothian 2018; Schalk 2018; Brown Spiers 2021). *Science Fiction and Narrative Form* is one more example of how science fiction seems to be receiving more attention from academic institutions now than any other moment in its history. In its opening paragraphs, co-author David Roberts declares that "like the epic and the novel, science fiction is a literary form" (1). Yet, it is hard to say whether placing science fiction "among the great narrative forms" (1) succeeds in pushing science fiction studies in new directions. At times it even feels as though it does the opposite, as the formalist approach seems to neglect some of the most outstanding literary tendencies within science fiction over the past two decades.

The book relies heavily on notions of literary form derived from Georg Lukács's *The Theory of the Novel*, originally published in book form in 1920. Despite not being one of his most widely cited works, the work contains ideas on literary forms that are not entirely without value, and the three authors of *Science Fiction and Narrative Form* make their case for approaching science fiction as narrative form in a very refined and comprehensive manner. According to Lukács, the epic is a pre-modern literary form and it transforms into the novel with the advent of modernity. The difference between the two is that the epic belongs in a world that is whole, self-contained, where meaning is integrated in that wholeness. The modern individual, in contrast, is alienated from the world, and so the novel constantly seeks, but fails, to retrieve wholeness and unity. As society develops, Lukács predicted, there will emerge "a new form of artistic creation" (1988: 152) to best suit the needs and ethos of that society. The premise of the authors in *Science Fiction and Narrative Form* is that science fiction fulfills that role prophesized by Lukács, of a narrative form capable of representing a complete world once again. Although they are not the first to make such a claim —Timothy Bewes argued something similar for the postmodern novel— the three authors do provide cogent arguments and close analyses to illustrate their point.

In Part 1, David Roberts traces the transition from the epic to the novel, and then from the novel to science fiction, the latter combining aspects of the former two. Science fiction resembles the epic in that the imagined worlds of science fiction (unlike in the novel) are self-contained totalities. But, like in the novel (and unlike in the epic), the meaning of that world is not immanent to reality— it seeks transcendence. In creating possible worlds, science fiction "poses at the same time the question of the meaning of its hypothetical experiment" (58). The technology-oriented, post-human societies that science fiction projects thus have predictive, allegorical and didactic value. In the second part, Andrew Milner taps into the potential of science fiction to construct future histories, following another of Lukács's incursions into literary theory, *The Historical Novel* (1937). In an innovative move, Milner severs the now commonplace association between science fiction and utopia in order to bring historical fiction to the equation: "the typical subject matter of SF is future history, uchronia and dyschronia rather than utopia and dystopia, its precursors therefore Scott and Dumas, rather than More and Francis Bacon" (97). To illustrate this claim, the author conducts close analyses of climate fiction texts set at progressively more distant points in the historical future. In Part 3, Peter Murphy focuses on epic form through an extensive discussion on epic science fiction, most notably exemplified by Isaac Asimov's Foundation series. Epic science fiction is capable of encompassing vast spaces and expanses of time, as big in scale as the imagination allows. Thanks to these formal possibilities, it reveals the full effects of historical/natural cyclic forces that transcend limited human

actions and motivations. The epic scale of science fiction thus offers a different perspective on social relations and the meaning (or lack thereof) of human life. Finally, Part 4, written by Milner again, follows up on the premise that science fiction relates closely to historical fiction. Current quasi-apocalyptic events such as wars, pandemics, climate change and AI raise the question of whether history will continue to advance at all, or if the end is indeed near. Science fiction, Milner argues, reflects on the questions posed by these present-day threats and provides possible answers.

While these arguments are intellectually compelling, they present severe limitations. The theoretical underpinnings of the book, as developed mostly in the introduction and Part 1, are not always easy to grasp, not least because the language used is often obscure. One wonders how relevant Lukács's theory of literary forms can be in current times. Despite its high level of abstraction, the book seems to take a very reductive approach to literature: the organic totality of the ancient Greeks vs the godless, sinful modern world; the epic vs the novel. In its simplicity, it sounds suspiciously like a grand narrative, with its concomitant problematic: a series of theories articulated at a specific historical moment from a Eurocentric perspective which are nevertheless taken as a universal explanation of what literature was and is supposed to be about. And it is not only that the notion of science fiction as literary form rests on these premises, but the theories about science fiction put forward in this book are themselves constructed following the same totalizing logic. That is, Lukács's arguably dated ideas are not merely a point of departure, but regulate and impinge on how science fiction theories are formulated throughout the book. An example of this impulse of generalized abstraction is the way the post-human is addressed. Roberts seems to take a transhuman stance when he says that "The transcendence of man reverses into the armoured body, the soldier into the killing machine […] the worker into slave" (75). In the face of this predicament, it is science fiction's role to find (or not) humanity in the post-human. There is no mention of Donna Haraway's cyborg theory (1985), nor is there anything close to the post-anthropocentrism that Rosi Braidotti poses as the basis of post-human thought (2013). Roberts's analyses hinge on the anthropocentric fear of lost humanity, a humanity that recoils in self-doubt when confronted with the technological Other. Moreover, the works under study offer a disproportionately Euro-Western and male-centered version of the human and of science fiction. Aside from Mary Shelley, Margaret Atwood and very few other exceptions, all the writers given any significant space of discussion are men. The book thus follows the human-as-man in his teleological journey from epic to novel to science fiction. Murphy's exploration of Asimov's Foundation, for all its insistence that human volition and purpose are transcended in the epic, is largely underpinned by colonization, imperialism and a preoccupation with the "rise, fall

and rise of civilizations" (187). Finally, Milner's contention that science fiction is about future history and/or apocalypse ignores how science fiction is, for many writers of color, much more about the past and the present than it is about the future, not least because postcolonial/decolonial societies have already experienced apocalypse in their histories, thus irremediably undoing Milner's dichotomy (i.e. the either/or of history and apocalypse).

All in all, the authors set off on their quest to canonize science fiction as a serious literary form without taking into account any significant developments in the theories and practices of science fiction from the last four decades: the rise of gender and sexuality issues; the rapidly advancing area of co-futurisms, to which Afrofuturism, Indigenous futurism and Latinx science fiction (among others) belong; the emergence of post-genre fantasy and new forms such as the New Weird; non-anthropocentric accounts of posthumanism; the historical-materialist approach to the genre spearheaded by John Rieder (2017); among others. In its exploration of literary forms restricted to Lukács's theories, the book is perhaps overly specific and targets a very narrow corpus, yet it presents its interpretations as universal tenets of science fiction. As far as argumentation and analysis goes, however, the book is very consistent with the aims it purports to fulfill and it does contain thought-provoking remarks, such as that in science fiction "the question transcends the answer" (44), or that, today, science fiction "has supplanted religion and prophecy" (194). Inasmuch as one can find a universalist notion of literary forms appealing and relevant, this book certainly makes some interesting points about the intersection between science fiction and narrative form.

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TEACHER PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT FOR THE INTEGRATION OF CONTENT AND LANGUAGE IN HIGHER EDUCATION

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The rise of content subjects taught in English as an additional language is one of the most significant linguistic phenomena in contemporary higher education (Macaro et al. 2018). The implementation and teaching of integrated content and language in higher education (ICLHE) or English as a medium of instruction (EMI) entails myriad interrelated factors that pivot on student-centred learning, from learners' language and subject-matter needs to the design of context- and language-specific materials. For this reason, training lecturers to teach learners in an additional language in higher education remains a challenge for the profession. Specifically, there is a need to focus on language and pedagogy in a much more integrated manner in these teacher-training programmes (Dimova et al. 2023; Lasagabaster 2022).

María Noelia Ruiz-Madrid and Inmaculada Fortanet-Gómez's book addresses this contemporary challenge and need by compiling innovative work by different researchers in Europe (Austria, Finland, Italy and Spain) on how universities, researchers and practitioners are engaging with the issue and developing ICLHE teacher training from a linguistic and pedagogical perspective. These contributions shed new light on a range of issues that play a fundamental role when designing effective ICLHE professional development. Every chapter furnishes novel data, reflections and implications that serve to inform future ICLHE teacher-training programmes. The main objective of the volume is to elucidate the key factors that

afford a learner-centred, interactive approach to the design of effective ICLHE teacher-training proposals. Chapters included in the volume, along with teaching resources and/or research instruments used in the studies presented in the chapters, will be of interest to academics, researchers and advanced students of education and teacher-training research and practice.

The edited volume comprises nine chapters that report on the qualitative aspects of ICLHE professional development. The interchangeable use of EMI and EME (English-medium education) is supported by the authors throughout the book. To begin with, Ruiz-Madrid and Fortanet-Gómez provide a brief overview of the relevance of teacher training in ICLHE (Chapter 1). They outline how the volume offers a comprehensive view on teacher training from a fine-grained perspective based on three fundamental features. The first relates to language, considered the most important aspect in ICLHE teachers' pedagogical development. The second concerns the spoken academic discourse of experienced ICLHE lecturers to specific language-awareness training. The third examines the fundamental role of identity and the stance of lecturers in effective teacher-development programmes. The chapter ends with the caveat that more research is still needed, namely, to identify how specific discourse and pedagogy can be combined to raise language awareness among ICLHE professionals.

In Chapter 2, Elena Borsetto explores longitudinally the language needs and difficulties of teachers and administrative staff at the Ca' Foscari University of Venice. Her findings expand upon the dichotomy between northern and southern European countries concerning language proficiency, especially when teaching and/or interacting with international students and teachers. Her observations identify significant differences between the linguistic needs of administrative staff and teachers. Borsetto's final reflections underscore the pivotal role of pronunciation and enunciation, forms and function of language, context-specific vocabulary and register in ICLHE teacher training.

In Chapter 3, Miia Konttinen investigates curriculum and its implementation in EME. From the outset, the chapter argues for a backward design that starts from the desired learning outcomes, connecting EME to the student's learning rather than the teacher's language skills. To understand how EME teachers actually teach and why they have resorted to particular teaching methods, the chapter offers insights from experienced EME teachers in Finnish master's programmes. The study's findings accentuate the negative impact of individualism, teacher-centredness and content-driven objectives. In response, the chapter proposes that EME teacher training combine the use of backward design (i.e. teachers' reflections on their teaching philosophy and practice with backward design) and

the notion of community of practice (Wenger 1998, i.e. dialogue to question and enhance each other's understanding of EME and to share best practices in teacher training).

In Chapter 4, Teresa Morell, Marian Aleson-Carbonell and Pilar Escabias-Lloret provide evidence of the benefits of the longitudinal design and implementation of the Prof-teaching EMI professional development programme at the University of Alicante, Spain. The chapter begins by underscoring the lack of consensus among universities on the content and structure of EMI teacher training in response to pedagogical and linguistic needs. The demands expressed in surveys administered in previous EMI workshops and university-wide polls on attitudes towards EMI and teacher training are used as a springboard to develop the study's three-module comprehensive teacher-training programme. The data collected sheds light on how Prof-teaching course participants feel about learning new methodologies, applying innovative tools and developing speaking skills. Final evaluations highlight the robustness of combining a digital, linguistic and pedagogical approach in EMI teacher training. The benefits of putting into practice what participants have learned, discipline-specific peer observation and EMI lecturer accreditation are also brought to the fore.

In Chapter 5, Lynn Mastellotto and Renata Zanin outline how the Free University of Bolzano has responded to the need for improved language competences through teacher training for multilingual schools in South Tyrol. The chapter provides a detailed picture of a linguistic landscape that does not support multilingualism despite the co-existence of various official languages. The study presents a customised instrument (i.e. Language Input Observation Scheme – LIOS I) to measure the quality of teachers' language input and interactions in second-language instruction in English and German. Preliminary results are presented on the ability of LIOS I to raise awareness in teaching practice through language, self-reflection, peer observation and feedback strategies.

In Chapter 6, Ada Bier examines the construct of the language-teaching methodology interface (LTMI). The study delves into the inherent link between language and teaching methodology in an Italian higher education EMI context. Assuming the LTMI can be characterised by the co-existence of a practical (observable) and a cognitive (hidden) element, the chapter includes an in-depth analysis of observed lectures and interviews to examine the interplay between the use of pragmatic strategies and deviations from standard at the morphosyntax level in EMI lecturing. Findings report on the blurred boundaries between language and teaching methodology. Positive and negative EMI outcomes are linked to the presence or absence of three key aspects: pedagogical

knowledge; language proficiency; and/or awareness of language and subject-specific literacy.

In Chapter 7, Alexandra Vraciu and Hortènsia Curell reinforce the relevance of research-informed EMI teacher-training programmes dealing with discipline-specific language awareness. The study explores discourse characteristics and strategies in native versus non-native EMI lecturer input that foster students' comprehension and output production at a Catalan university in Spain. Findings are categorised based on whether the discourse and strategies identified support comprehensible input or output. Redundancy, explicitness, orality, comprehension checks and pre-emptive focus on form are examined from the viewpoint of comprehensible input, while promotion and reaction are analysed in terms of output. While key findings emphasise the nuanced nature of lecturing, the study finds widespread reticence in terms of participation and interaction. In their final reflections, the authors recommend that teacher-training programmes be tailored to increase content lecturers' L2 awareness in the planning and implementation of EMI.

In Chapter 8, Francesca Costa and Olivia Mair examine the effects of raising teachers' awareness during training offered on the multimodal affordances of EMI lecture discourse in Italy. A panoramic view of English-taught programmes in Italian universities is provided to stress the need for lecturers to engage in professional development that benefits comprehensibility. The chapter extends beyond the boundaries of English and tackles the dearth of multimodal discourse analysis in EMI teacher training. The study analyses a professional development course for lecturers in a Northern Italian university from a multimodal and pronunciation lens. Findings underline the determining effects of phonological inaccuracy, accentedness and multimodal competence in meaning-making practices. The chapter illustrates how multimodal features (i.e. gestures, gaze, posture, facial expression, paralanguage, slide content) and pronunciation play a key role in EMI knowledge construction.

Lastly, in Chapter 9, Marta Aguilar-Pérez and Sarah Khan compare the metadiscourse of a lecturer teaching in their L1 (i.e. Catalan) and EMI starting with a brief review of the many definitions and taxonomies of metadiscourse. After which, the chapter focusses on metadiscourse as an effective way to analyse how L1 and EMI lecturers engage with the subject matter and their audience, in addition to how effective use of metadiscourse can benefit EMI students. Findings from a mixed-methods exploratory study yield distinct differences regarding speech rate, metadiscourse and audience interaction based on language of instruction and the complexity of the lecture. An elaborate discussion is offered

on whether the complexity of the lecture's content or the language of instruction has more influence over the use of metadiscourse. The chapter ends with some recommendations on the need for further examination with larger corpora that extends to the impact of discipline, expertise, methodological approach and student performance.

Indeed, the book addresses timely issues in ICLHE teacher training, such as integrating content and language in a more student-centred manner, applying effective multimodal, metadiscursive and multilingual strategies, as well as supporting academic staff and lecturers in internationalised university settings, with a specific emphasis on case studies that inform future ICLHE teacher-training research and practice. A particularly welcome feature is the empirical design and successful implementation of innovative instruments and interventions such as the LTMI and the Prof-teaching EMI teacher-training programme, which can be further tested and applied to a broad range of ICLHE contexts. Additionally, the implications for the future design of teacher-training programmes are drawn on a chapter-by-chapter basis, with clearly detailed recommendations. That said, the organisation of chapters in the volume could have been divided into sections to more clearly convey the three main themes the volume appears to tackle. In other words, the role of language in ICLHE teacher-training programmes and the relevance of research-based curricula (chapters 2, 5, 6 and 7); the design and implementation of ICLHE professional development programmes in specific contexts (chapters 3 and 4); and the characteristics of teachers' lecturing discourse (chapters 8 and 9). Ultimately, the ensemble of chapters provides a set of pragmatic responses to real challenges faced by ICLHE teacher-training professionals in a range of teaching contexts in Europe from a grassroots perspective. Although our understanding of how discourse and pedagogy can be integrated effectively to raise language awareness among ICLHE professionals requires further analyses, the findings presented in the volume provide fertile future lines of research that should be explored.

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Notes for contributors

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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As Bachelard claims, while past memories are important, "all really inhabited space bears the essence of the notion of home" (2004: 5, emphasis added), which raises a question about the quality of living.

According to Shaw, the works belonging to this genre are concerned with either reflecting imaginatively, responding directly or dealing with the socio-cultural, economic and racial consequences that followed the UK's exit from the European Union (2021: 4).

…language always fulfils three communicative functions (Jewitt et al. 2016).

…this idea has been rejected by several authors (Reger 2017; Evans 2015; Cochrane 2013).

As Suárez Orozco suggests …. (in Inda 2014: 34).

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